

Daily News Diary ■ Letter from Central America ■ A Soviet Missile Tale

JOURNAL REVIEW

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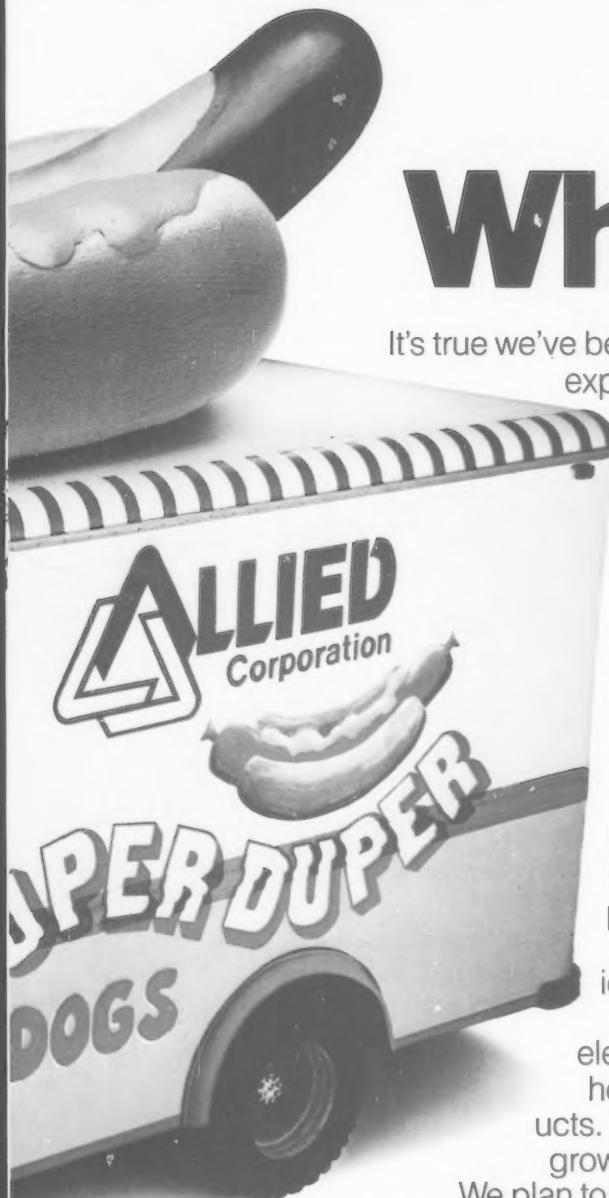
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CONTENTS

To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.

—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

ARTICLES

The government shuts up

by Jay Peterzell 31

The administration is taking unprecedented steps to seal off the bureaucracy — leaving the press to assess the value of selected leaks

Blazing silos!

by Andrew Cockburn 38

A case study of the kind of reporting that selective leaking — and a lack of digging — can produce

A Daily News diary

by Mary Ann Giordano 40

A personal record of four and a half months of total anxiety

Clout: Murdoch's political Post

by Mitchell Stephens 44

If Rupert likes you, he'll go all the way

Central America: a tale of three countries

by Michael Massing 47

In three polarized countries, the press is a major battleground

Subject: suicide

by Stan Augarten 53

Reflections on coverage in the land of the Golden Gate Bridge

DEPARTMENTS

Chronicle

Gadfly on Wall Street; publisher loses his Kool; SF reporter's madam connection; Penthouse pros; Beetle's faithful followers

7

Journalists and Their World, by Young C. Kim, reviewed by Richard Halloran; *To Absent Friends*, by Red Smith, reviewed by Roy Blount, Jr.

Capital letter

23

Briefings

62

Comment

25

Unfinished business

67

Books

55

The lower case

73

The Right Place at the Right Time, by Robert MacNeil, reviewed by Neil Hickey; Japanese

Cover by Arnold Roth

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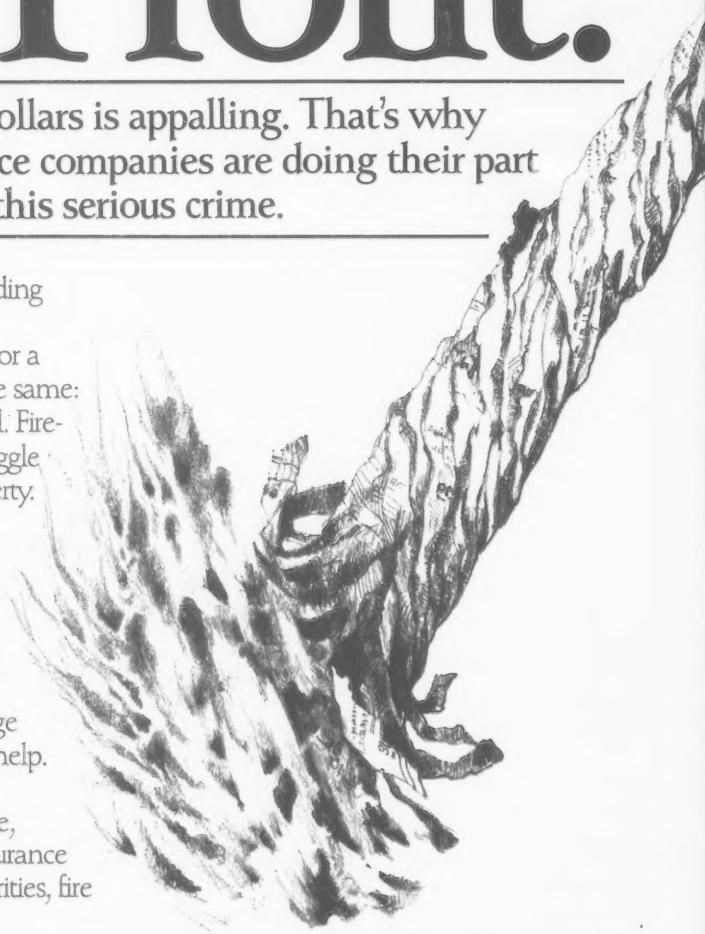
Whether it's a quiet nursing home or a bustling hotel, the scenario is basically the same: A fire starts and suddenly is out of control. Firemen and related emergency services struggle desperately to rescue lives and save property.

The smoke clears and the fire marshal makes his report. Too often it includes the word: *arson*.

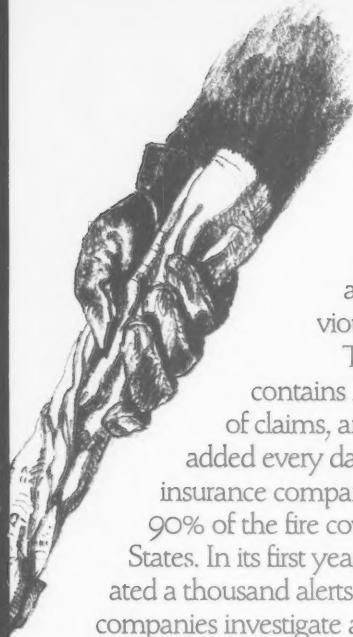
Arson for profit is only a small part of the total arson problem. Most fires are *not* set for profit. The largest percentage of arson fires is caused by vandals, revenge seekers, or people in need of psychiatric help.

Arson has become a serious social problem. Its solutions demand innovative, coordinated efforts—not only by the insurance business, but by law enforcement authorities, fire inspectors, builders, and legislators.

Property-Casualty insurance companies—acting through the Insurance Committee for Arson Control—help and encourage those important groups to get together. So far, 125 Arson Task Forces have been formed in 41 states.



Meanwhile, insurance companies themselves have been working to reduce the incidence of arson. A prime example, one aimed specifically at arson for profit, is the Property Insurance Loss Register.



This computerized cross-index of fire claims over \$500 is programmed to react whenever a "match-up" of similar characteristics occurs among current and previous claims.

The PILR computer contains hundreds of thousands of claims, and hundreds more are added every day. They come from the insurance companies that write about 90% of the fire coverage in the United States. In its first year, the Register generated a thousand alerts. From them, insurance companies investigate and uncover arson for profit schemes that otherwise would remain undetected.

These leads are essential, because arson often is hard to spot and even harder to prove. It takes time to investigate suspicious fires; to sift rubble for clues to physical evidence, much of which may have been burned up; to probe for financial circumstances which would indicate motive.

Meanwhile, well-intentioned state laws frequently require prompt claims settlement or notice of reason for delay. Other laws have prevented law enforcement officials and insurers from sharing information about a claim. And, insurance investigators face lawsuits for libel, slander, or bad faith if their claim denial or charge of suspected arson doesn't stand up in court.

All this has had a chilling effect on investigation of possible fraudulent insurance claims.

But Property-Casualty insurance companies are fighting back. They sponsor fire fraud workshops around the country to train thousands of adjusters and claims people. They seek law changes which will remove incentives

for arson and make arson easier to investigate, while protecting the privacy of the policyholder. They are testing an insurance application form designed to identify and deter potential arson fraud. They developed a model code which makes arson a serious felony and provides appropriate penalties.

Significant operational changes in the many FAIR Plans across the country (where Property-Casualty insurance companies maintain facilities to insure high risk properties) are also making it harder for arsonists to prosper. Inspection practices and underwriting procedures are stronger. Increasingly, claims for fires of a suspicious nature are resisted. New government guidelines give FAIR Plans more flexibility in denying applications and in cancelling insurance coverage. Property owners are threatened with loss of coverage unless unsafe conditions are corrected.

Clearly, progress is being made. Society may never be able to eliminate arson, any more than it can eliminate any other serious crime. However, through increased public concern, improved legislation, training, and the growing level of cooperation among community groups, insurance companies, fire fighters, and law enforcement authorities, we believe the crime of arson can be brought under closer control.



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Justice George Sutherland

NORTHROP

CHRONICLE

Taking on Dow Jones's union

It has become a spring ritual for Eric Frankland. Every year the forty-nine-year-old *Wall Street Journal* copy editor, who owns a few shares of Dow Jones stock, attends the company's annual meeting and asks what he calls the "hard questions." At the April 21 session, he pointedly asked executives if they would still be receiving their bonuses this year despite their controversial decision to purchase *Book Digest* for a reported \$10 million. Then, apologizing for repeating himself year after year, Frankland asked if the company would finally abandon its policy of "tokenism" in favor of a genuine affirmative action program.

The main target of this self-acknowledged gadfly, however, is the Independent Association of Publishers' Employees, Inc. (IAPE), the union representing 1,400 employees of the *Journal*, Dow Jones, and *Barron's* magazine. "What I'm against is the domination of the union by the company," Frankland says. "It is not an adversary relationship." Company executives, he says, "do exactly what they want."

"Eric Frankland lives and breathes unionism," George Kennedy, president of IAPE, says with exasperation. He "will not do anything that puts IAPE in a good light . . . If IAPE is for it, Eric is against it."

In his latest confrontation with IAPE, Frankland took the union to court to force it to provide him with a copy of its membership list so that he could send out literature to members. IAPE, which offered to mail his material for him (at his expense), held that to release the list would be an invasion of its members' privacy. Finally, in mid-May, after losing two court rulings and paying \$6,000 in legal fees, the union relented and gave Frankland the list. It is now braced for whatever may come next in Frankland's ten-year campaign of numerous Department of Labor proceedings, NLRB hearings, and court cases directed at the union.

There is some historical basis for Frankland's criticism. IAPE was founded in 1937 as the Dow Jones Employee Association by William F. Kerby, who freely admitted he started it to keep out more militant unions

like The Newspaper Guild, as well as to win points with his bosses. Both strategies were successful: Kerby later became chairman of Dow Jones, and the guild has never managed to gain a foothold at the *Journal*.

Kennedy, who works in the *Journal's* indexing department, insists that the intimacy between company and union is a thing of the past; the relationship today, he says, is "definitely adversary, there're no two ways about it." But IAPE's record in recent years is, by most accounts, mixed. Until the 1970s, most union elections went uncontested, employee meetings were rare, and arbitration proceedings virtually unheard of. Even today, the union's newsletter appears only irregularly, its grievance committee is shorthanded, and there is no strike fund.

At the same time, IAPE's 1981 contract was the best in years, providing a nearly 30 percent wage increase over three years, plus cost-of-living adjustments. However, reporters' starting salaries at the *Journal*, about \$21,000, are still significantly lower than at comparable papers like *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*, despite the fact that Dow Jones continues to post record profits (\$71 million in 1981).

Frankland, a lifetime unionist who jokes, "I was put on the doorstep when I was two years old and told, 'Don't come back until you have a union card,'" has harped on these weaknesses while running in every union election since 1972. He was elected vice president that year, but has lost every time since.

The union's problems may have more to do with its members than its leaders. Many *Journal* reporters, hired right out of college, are eager to make their mark and thus would prefer to work, say, on a front-page story than to serve on a grievance committee. Frank James, a young reporter in the paper's Philadelphia bureau who ran unsuccessfully for secretary/treasurer last year, describes the membership as "indifferent," adding, "I think the central core doesn't want to rock the boat. . . . They have always been taken care of." Kennedy laments that "if I were to call a strike, I think it would be me and my

Col/Harvey Wang



Crusader Eric Frankland ends another workday at The Wall Street Journal.

top union officials on the picket line, and everyone else would walk right by us."

Kennedy also says in his defense that he is not paid for his labors, and, furthermore, that because union dues are so low — \$7.50 a month maximum — his staff consists en-

tirely of part-time volunteers. An even greater obstacle, however, is his antagonist. "No wonder we can't get anything done — when we're not bargaining, I spend all my time fighting suits by Eric Frankland," he says, pointing out that Frankland even campaigned against a proposed dues increase on the ground that the union was too inactive to deserve it. And Ray Joseph, vice president of the union, says that "Eric goes too far. He fills his election material with half-truths and innuendo." Frankland's tactics, in fact, seem to have alienated many who otherwise sympathize with his views.

IAPE is considering affiliating with The Newspaper Guild or the International Typographical Union, but until something comes of that, Frankland vows persistence: "What I want . . . is that the issue of unionism in its broadest sense be thoroughly discussed, that there be equal space for house dissidents, that there be in-depth discussions at meetings, that numerous unions be able to make a pitch, and that then the issue be put to a vote. If this happened, I would abide by that and shut up forever. But I can't get past square one."

Mary Ann Giordano

Mary Ann Giordano is a reporter for the New York Daily News.

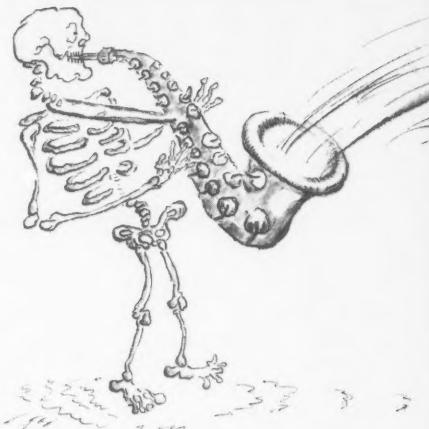
A tough habit to kick

Writing about cigarette smoking can be dangerous to your job. Paul Maccabee, music editor and reporter for the *Twin Cities Reader*, an iconoclastic Minneapolis-based weekly (paid circulation: 100,000), found that out last April after writing an article for the *Reader* about a Twin Cities jazz festival sponsored by Kool cigarettes.

The piece was, for the most part, a laudatory preview of the festival. But at one point it stated, "Strange bedfellows, cigarettes and jazz. Duke Ellington died of lung cancer in 1974." Maccabee also referred to Kool officials as "nicotine pushers." One day after the article appeared, Maccabee was fired by *Reader* publisher Mark Hopp.

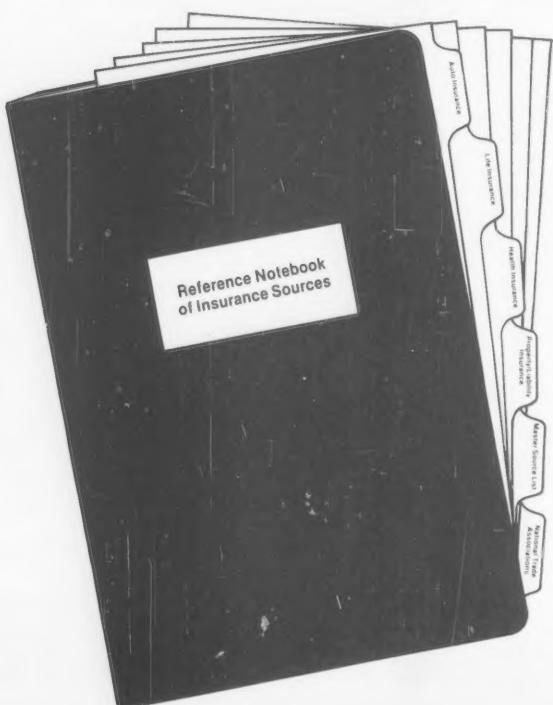
Maccabee says, and Hopp confirms, that the publisher told him that "if we have to fly to Louisville, Kentucky, and get out on our bended knees and beg [Kool officials] not to take their ads out of the *Reader*, we'll do it."

Soon after Maccabee's firing, Brian Lambert resigned as editor of the *Reader*, citing differences with Hopp "over how the editorial department ought to be run." (He remains temporarily at the paper as a staff writer.) Hopp has installed his wife, Deborah —



formerly the paper's special sections manager — as the *Reader*'s new editor.

Hopp unabashedly admits that he fired Maccabee because he was fearful of losing the *Reader*'s cigarette ads, which total four to five pages a week at about \$1,750 a page. He says Maccabee should have used "his common sense to realize the position that the *Twin Cities Reader* holds in the marketplace and what we can and can't get away with." Actually, neither the Brown and Williamson



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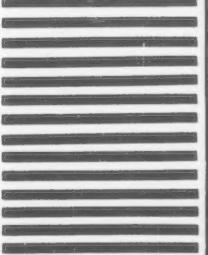
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Tobacco Corp., which manufactures Kool cigarettes, nor any of the other cigarette companies that advertise regularly in the *Reader*, had complained about Maccabee's article at the time of the firing; none has complained since. "It was only the fear that the cigarette companies would do something," says Maccabee.

Such fear has a solid foundation. According to Joe Voyles, the *Reader's* national sales manager, cigarette companies generally request in writing "that their ads not appear on the same page or across from the page of an anti-smoking article." (Kool's ad appeared two pages after the Maccabee article.) R. J. Reynolds, which manufactures such cigarette brands as Winston, Salem, and

Camel, goes a step further and, in an insertion order sent along with each ad, requests that the company be informed if anti-smoking articles are going to run. David Fishel, public relations director for R. J. Reynolds, says the company has never pulled an ad based on that insertion order. But there is other evidence besides the Maccabee incident to suggest that the threat alone may be enough.

The industry-funded American Council on Science and Health (ACSH) recently published a survey of nineteen popular magazines and their coverage in 1965-1981 of the hazards of cigarette smoking. Like an earlier survey conducted by CJR ("The Magazines' Smoking Habit," January/February 1978), the ACSH study reveals a disturbing connection between cigarette advertising and the frequency and accuracy of articles about smoking. It found that, with rare exceptions, magazines which receive more than 5 percent of their ad revenues from cigarette companies do a poor job of reporting about smoking. For example, in the last decade, neither *Redbook* nor *Ms.*, both of which receive a significant share of their ad revenues from cigarette companies, has made more than passing mention of the health problems related to smoking, even though lung cancer may soon surpass breast cancer as the leading cause of cancer deaths among American women.

Susan Perry
Susan Perry is a free-lance writer who lives in Minneapolis.

Bring on the gulls

Can a hard-driving career woman find sexual satisfaction in the pages of a newspaper? Stated another way, can the *Chicago Sun-Times* boost its circulation by featuring a soap opera four times a week? Beginning April 25, *Sun-Times* readers have been able to follow the breathless adventures of Poppy Bosworth, an ambitious advertising executive by day, a divorced mother and sometime lover by night. Since her debut, Poppy has survived corporate power struggles, a spat with a former lover, and a torrid house-boat romance. Written by staff members Carroll Stoner and Laura Green, the column sometimes seems to merit an R-rating. A sample: "The gulls . . . watched the man and the woman rising and falling on the bed and heard their cries and laughter as they made love."

Poppy's creation has been met with "disbelief" in the *Sun-Times* newsroom, according to one editor. "Too many characters and not enough events people can relate to," says the paper's TV critic, Gary Deeb. But Carroll Stoner defends the series as a way of exploring today's social issues: "Poppy is a strong woman with the courage to say, 'I have sexual needs.'" Stoner says Poppy will run at least through the summer. After that? "There is talk of a book or a TV mini-series," she says.

Patrick Barry

Patrick Barry is a free-lance writer who lives in Chicago.

Preemptive strike

For Penni Crabtree, a part-time reporter for the *National Catholic Reporter*, it promised to be a routine assignment. On April 13, a peace activist was staging an early-morning protest at a restricted Minuteman II missile silo at Whiteman Air Force base in Warrensburg, Missouri, and Crabtree planned to get a few routine quotes and photographs before filing her story.

But as she focused her camera on the lone protester, Crabtree noticed two Air Force officers approaching quickly. After a few minutes, one of them leveled his M-16 and ordered her to kneel with her head down. The officers then ordered Crabtree to stand spread-eagled against a fence and kept her there for two hours before the arrival of a sheriff, who handcuffed her and confiscated her camera, film, and notes. Only then was she allowed to call her editors. All of this, Crabtree says, after she had made it clear she



Soon after taking this photo of a protester at a nuclear site, reporter Penni Crabtree was confronted by Air Force officers, who confiscated her camera.

Penni Crabtree/National Catholic Reporter

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was a working journalist. (The protester was arrested.)

Crabtree was detained for a total of seven hours and then released. No charges were filed, and her possessions were returned after the Air Force determined that there had been no national security violations.

But the case appears far from closed. Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton and the Kansas City chapters of Women in Communications and the Society of Professional Journalists have called on the Pentagon to investigate the incident.

"This is the kind of outrageous abuse of constitutional rights that I would expect to

find in a police state, but certainly not in the United States," John M. Wylie II of the SPJ commented. "It is clear that this was an attempt by the U.S. Air Force to intimidate journalists and put itself above the Constitution of the United States."

The Air Force issued a statement asserting that "reporters covering events where people intend to violate federal laws, without that reporter first informing the proper authorities, run the risk of being treated as accomplices when found at the scene where the violation is occurring."

An in-house Air Force investigation of the incident concluded that the officers had acted

according to "standard prescribed procedure," says Colonel Michael McRaney, director of public affairs for the Air Force's Strategic Air Command. Referring to the frequency of terrorist acts in the world, he says that "these are very sensitive sites and we have the responsibility to protect them the best way we know how." And while the Air Force is "looking to see if we're not over-reacting," McRaney says that "until we have some surefire way of identifying people at nuclear sites," current procedures are unlikely to change.

Bill Gyves

Bill Gyves is an intern at the Review.

Red light, pink slip

The story had all the ingredients — sex, crime, drugs, ethical conflict — that would normally appeal to Malcolm Glover, a thirty-five-year veteran of the *San Francisco Examiner* and the dean of police reporters in the Bay Area. In this case, however, he himself was the protagonist.

The soft-spoken, gentlemanly, fifty-five-year-old Glover was dismissed from the *Ex-*

Malcolm Glover, dean of Bay Area police reporters — until his recent firing



aminer on March 16 because, as stated in a letter from editor David Halvorsen, he had "seriously compromised the integrity of the *San Francisco Examiner* . . . by conveying certain sensitive information you obtained from the San Francisco Police Department to another individual not associated with this newspaper." Glover wants his job back and, through the local Newspaper Guild unit, has filed a grievance that is scheduled for arbitration on July 7.

Glover's problems began earlier this year when one of his sources, Marlene "Brandy" Baldwin, the last and most famous of San Francisco's great madams, asked him to confirm a missing-person report and an arrest stemming from a cocaine bust at a local Holiday Inn. Until March 1, when state law was changed, police-blotter items in California were legally available only to those involved and to reporters. In San Francisco, however, police often provided information to citizens on request.

For Glover, whose police reporting has earned him numerous awards and citations, it was an innocuous request, and he had no trouble fulfilling it. Unbeknown to him, however, Baldwin herself was the target of a police investigation seeking leaks in the vice squad. The police didn't discover the leak, but they did learn, through an informant, that Glover had relayed the requested information to Baldwin. Word of the exchange, and of the allegation that Baldwin had Glover "in her pocket," soon reached editors, who wasted no time in taking disciplinary action. In his letter, editor Halvorsen told Glover that his action had "seriously damaged the ability of your fellow reporters to be taken into the confidence of police officers."

For Glover, granting Baldwin's request was a necessary part of his job; he had done

hundreds of such favors for sources. "You have to trade information on this beat, and when I'm not talking to cops, I'm obviously talking to people with records," says Glover, who was originally hired by the late William Randolph Hearst after working on his estate one summer as a gardener.

Glover's indiscretion did not interfere with the police probe — Baldwin was arrested soon afterward for pimping and pandering. Nor did it prevent the *Examiner* from printing an exclusive interview with the madam — an interview, says assistant city editor Bruce Adams, "given in no small measure because Malcolm had been cultivating her as a news source." He adds that "a hard reality of the police beat is that you associate with felons — especially when you're working for a newspaper that prides itself on crime coverage and routinely asks for jailhouse interviews."

The firing has stirred up the usually apathetic *Examiner* newsroom and has united some cub and veteran reporters in opposing it. "Everyone likes Malcolm," says environmental reporter and local Guild president Alan Cline. "He's the kind of guy who does favors for people, and who always has a bag of jelly beans for the hungry reporter and an unlisted phone number for the struggling reporter."

Glover also helped colleagues obtain press credentials and, more than once, intervened with the police department on behalf of staff members. On one occasion, in fact, he says he persuaded police to speed up an investigation into a burglary at the home of David Halvorsen.

Nadine Joseph

Nadine Joseph is a free-lance writer who lives in Oakland.

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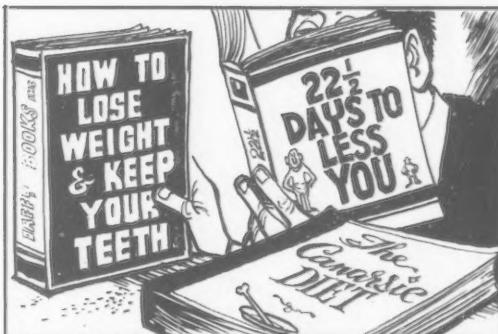
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and gulp-&-
dash execs?**



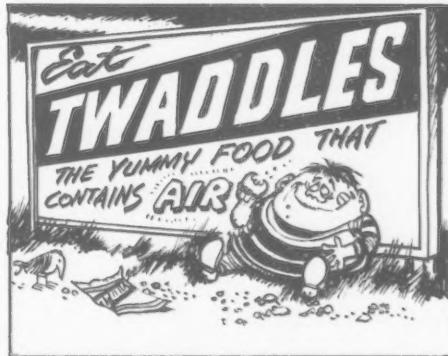
Food-faddist



Daffy-dieter



Gulp-&-dash exec.



Junk-food kid

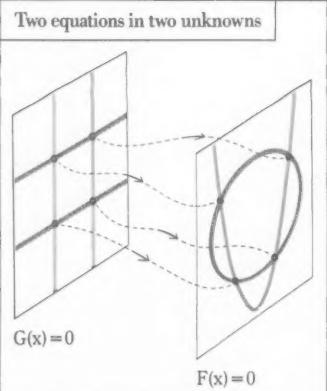
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The Continuation Method

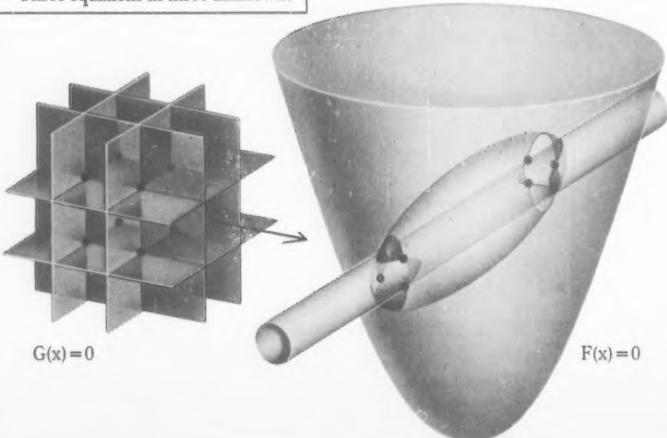
The need to solve systems of polynomial equations arises in pursuits ranging from geometric optics to chemical kinetics. A practical method of solution, developed at the General Motors Research Laboratories, provides designers of mechanical parts with a new capability.



The two pairs of parallel lines of $G(x) = 0$ evolve into the parabola and ellipse of $F(x) = 0$.

The three pairs of parallel planes of $G(x) = 0$ evolve into the paraboloid, ellipsoid and cylinder of $F(x) = 0$.

Three equations in three unknowns



CLASSICALLY difficult non-linear equations—those made up of polynomial expressions—can now be solved with reliability and speed. Recent advances in the mathematics of continuation methods at the General Motors Research Laboratories have practical implications for a wide range of scientific and engineering problems. The immediate application at General Motors is in mechanical design. The new method finds all eight solutions to three quadratic equations in a few tenths of a second—fast enough for computer-aided design on a moment-to-moment basis. Algorithms based on this method are critical to the functioning of GMSOLID, an interactive design system which models the geometric characteristics of

automotive parts.

Systems of non-linear equations have been solved for many years by "hit or miss" *local* methods. The method developed at General Motors by Dr. Alexander Morgan is distinguished by being *global* and *exhaustive*. Local methods depend on an initial estimate of the solution. They proceed by iterative modifications of this estimate to converge to a solution. However, success is not guaranteed, because there are generally no practical guidelines for making an initial choice that will ensure convergence. Reliability is further compromised when multiple solutions are sought.

Global methods, by contrast, do not require an initial estimate of the solution. The continuation method, as developed by Dr. Morgan, is not only global, but also exhaustive in that, assuming exact arithmetic, it guarantees convergence to all solutions. The convergence proof rests on principles from the area of mathematics called differential topology.

Here is the way continuation works. Suppose we want to solve a system $F(x) = 0$. We begin by generating a simpler system $G(x) = 0$ which we can both solve and continuously evolve into $F(x) = 0$. It is important that we select a G properly, so the process will converge. Dr. Morgan has devised a method for selecting G which gives rapid convergence and reliable computational behavior. He first applied a theorem established by Garcia and

Zangwill to select G . However, the resulting algorithm could not achieve the speed and computational reliability necessary for several applications. Next, he utilized some ideas from algebraic geometry—"homogenous coordinates" and "complex projective space"—to prove a new theorem for selecting G . The result of Dr. Morgan's efforts is a practical numerical method based on solid mathematical principles with innate reliability.

Reliability is the critical element for mathematical methods embedded in large computer programs, because errors may not become evident until after they have ruined a large data structure compiled at great expense and effort. Speed is also important to economical real-time implementation. This method has proved to be reliable and fast in solving problems involving equations up to the sixth degree in three or four variables. However, there are obvious practical limitations on the number of equations and their degree, due to the limited precision of computer arithmetic and computer resource availability.

THE FIGURES illustrate the transition from simple $G(x)=0$ to final $F(x)=0$. In both figures, the "simplicity" of $G(x)=0$ is reflected graphically in its linear structure—seen as lines and planes. The non-linearity of $F(x)=0$ is seen

in the curvature of the final shapes in each figure.

In figure 1, the four dots on the left plane represent the set of simultaneous solutions to the system of equations $G(x)=0$. The four dots on the right plane represent the set of simultaneous solutions to the system of equations $F(x)=0$. The dashed lines represent simultaneous solutions to intermediate systems whose graphs would show the evolution from one configuration to the other. With the addition of a third dimension in figure 2, the number of dots representing simultaneous solutions doubles. Representation of the transitional points, as in figure 1, would require a fourth dimension.

"Continuation methods, although well known to mathematicians," says Dr. Morgan, "are not widely used in science and engineering. Acoustics, kinematics and non-linear circuit design are just a few fields that could benefit immediately. I expect to see much greater use of this mathematical tool in the future."

THE MAN BEHIND THE WORK

Dr. Alexander Morgan is a Senior Research Scientist in the Mathematics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Morgan received his graduate degrees from Yale University in the field of differential topology. His Ph.D. thesis concerned the geometry of differential manifolds. Prior to joining General Motors in 1978, he taught mathematics at the University of Miami in Florida and worked as an analyst at the Department of Energy's Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

While serving in the U.S. Army, Dr. Morgan participated in the development and analysis of simulation models at the Strategy and Tactics Analysis Group in Bethesda, Maryland.

Dr. Morgan's current research interests include the qualitative theory of ordinary differential equations and the numerical solution of non-linear equations.



General Motors
The future of transportation is here

The rising price of pros

The reluctance of working journalists to testify in libel trials has resulted once again in the casting of academics as expert witnesses. (See "Journalism Pros Take Stand," CJR, July/August 1981.) In the recent \$522-million libel suit brought by the La Costa resort against *Penthouse* magazine in California (which *Penthouse* won in May), each side put its own professor on the stand. The result was a kind of Mexican standoff, in which the two professors, working off the same evidence, came to diametrically opposed conclusions.

The professors testified on whether *Penthouse* had conformed with "generally accepted procedures in the journalism industry for verification of investigative reporting existing in March, 1975," when the magazine published an article accusing La Costa of having been founded, financed, and frequented by organized crime figures. In checking the piece, *Penthouse* relied solely on a review by outside legal counsel, who examined the back-up material of the authors (Jeff Gerth and Lowell Bergman) but did not independently verify their facts.

Appearing for *Penthouse*, Professor Dale Spencer of the University of Missouri School

reversed himself after examining Spencer's background. He described the qualifications of both witnesses as "marginal" and "well below [those] of medical witnesses and experts testifying on product reliability." He concluded, "I guess you just don't get the big people in journalism to come forward in these cases." After the verdict, two jurors said they gave no weight at all to the contradictory testimony of the two professors.

In one respect, however, they have left their mark. In what may be a record, Devol was paid \$35,000 — \$29,000 as a "media

consultant" and \$6,000 as a witness. Spencer says he billed *Penthouse* at his "usual fee of \$1,000 a day plus expenses" — approximately \$10,000 in all. Just a year ago, in testifying unsuccessfully against author Thomas Thompson in the *Blood and Money* libel suit, Roy Fisher, dean of the Missouri Journalism School, charged his client a mere \$2,000.

James Phelan

James Phelan covered the *Penthouse* case for The New York Times.

Beetle, unbowed

Beetle Bailey, the long-suffering private of the comics, has survived thirty-two years of war and military tension. But can he survive feminism? In the past year, the strip has come under increasing fire from newspaper readers and editors who consider it offensive to women. (See "After the Fall," Comment, CJR, May/June 1981.)

For those who do not read Beetle in one of the 1,600 papers that carry it, a little background: Miss Buxley is an Army secretary whose principal asset seems to be her voluptuous figure. She has only minimal secretarial skills, but that seems to bother no one, least of all her boss, General Halftrack, a good-natured duffer who spends most of his time thinking up excuses to ogle her.

In March 1981, Walker Lundy, executive editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat*, received a letter from a female reader who was outraged by a particular Beetle episode. "I am sick and tired of this humiliating garbage," she wrote. "I don't want my little boy to grow up thinking that a woman's value is determined by her breasts or thighs." Neither, evidently, did Lundy, who vowed that from then on he would monitor the paper's comic strips and yank episodes he deemed offensive. He has done so ever since.

Mike Pride, managing editor of the *Concord Monitor* in New Hampshire and a former *Democrat* city editor, heard of Lundy's policy and thought it was a good idea. So, on February 24, Pride wrote in a column that he, too, would begin selective editing of Beetle Bailey and other strips.

Within a day, angry readers were after him on the phone, and soon letters began pouring in. Many criticized him for playing censor. "Let me make my own decision," said one

letter. Some objected to the selective nature of the editing. "If Beetle is the prime offender, stop running Beetle altogether," wrote a reader. Others rose to the defense of Miss Buxley. "If I were built like Miss Buxley," wrote a female reader, "I'd revel in the attention."

At the suggestion of a few readers, Pride decided to take a poll. Of the 175 people who responded, a full 85 percent voted to leave the strip alone. A reluctant Pride bowed in the face of the landslide. "I did what I thought was right and now I'm doing what I think is wrong," he wrote in an April 3 column. "We'll run the strips, sexism and all."

Pride might have been less eager to take the matter to a vote had he known of the results of similar polls taken at two other papers, the *Charlotte Observer* and the *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*. In both instances, the results were the same — more than 85 percent said to keep editorial hands off Miss Buxley. "I don't know what the flap is about," says Bill Yates, comics editor of King Features Syndicate, which handles Beetle. "Miss Buxley is such an innocent type of character. And the general is an old goat. He has never touched Miss Buxley and he never would."

Have we heard the last of Beetle Bailey and Miss Buxley? Not if Mort Walker, Beetle's creator, has anything to say about it. Walker has received so much mail on the subject that he is planning a book that will include Miss Buxley strips mixed in with Miss Buxley letters, pro and con. Unlike some old soldiers, Beetle Bailey will not be allowed to fade away.

Charles Stein

Charles Stein is a staff writer for the New Hampshire Times.

continued



Dale Spencer



Kenneth Devol

of Journalism testified that the magazine had conformed with existing procedures. Professor Kenneth Devol, of California State University at Northridge, testified for La Costa that it did not.

Neither professor had ever worked on a national magazine or testified previously in a libel suit. Devol had had only brief experience on small daily newspapers before becoming an instructor. Spencer worked for twenty-three years as a faculty member on the Missouri journalism school's daily, the *Columbia Missourian*. The judge in the case, Kenneth Gale, originally ruled that Devol was not qualified to be an expert, but

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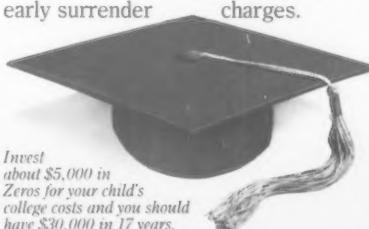
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Column-busting

A few days after editorial employees at *The Herald-News* in Passaic, New Jersey, voted in August 1980 to join the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, Mike Stoddard learned that his weekly general-interest column was being axed.

Stoddard, chief of the paper's Morris County bureau and an organizer of a bitter two-year campaign to organize the paper, interpreted the move as a heavy-handed form of retaliation by *Herald-News* executives for his activism. Soon afterward, he lodged a formal complaint with the National Labor Relations Board in order to get back his column, which had appeared for more than a dozen years, the last four on the Sunday op-ed page amid the likes of William Buckley, Jr., and Art Buchwald.

Last February, an administrative law judge for the NLRB ruled in Stoddard's favor, holding that the paper's decision to drop the column was an unfair labor practice. Judge Arthur Herman dismissed as "lame and factually untrue" the reason Stoddard said he was given by *The Herald-News* for cancellation of his column — that it was a casualty of a new policy at the paper barring reporters from writing opinion pieces. Herman ordered the paper to resume the column, subject to the same standards imposed on other columnists.

Herald-News executives have filed an appeal with the five-person NLRB panel in Washington, claiming that the decision infringes on the paper's First Amendment rights. A decision is probably months away. In the meantime, the column goes unwritten.

"It is our view that the government cannot tell a newspaper what it can or cannot print," says Henry Hamburger, attorney for the 70,000-circulation suburban daily. "Stoddard has no right to have his opinions published. It was the employer's right to terminate that column where he saw fit." Austin Drukker, publisher of the family-owned paper, adds that "when a publisher is forced by the government to publish things he doesn't want to, it certainly is a dangerous precedent."

But Stoddard and NLRB staff attorneys maintain that the First Amendment issue is being used here as a smokescreen to hide unfair labor practices. "Let's be clear," says NLRB attorney Hope Singer. "We're just saying they can't take a column away which they had no basis to take away prior to [Stoddard's] union activity."

Judge Herman agreed in his ruling, stating

that while the newspaper "may object to this remedy on the grounds that it compromises its integrity and freedom of thought . . . [its] motive . . . was purely discriminatory as it was based on Stoddard's involvement in the union. . . . Thus, while the Constitution guarantees to [the newspaper] the freedom to determine the quality of its news and editorial content, it is not immune from the [National Labor Relations] Act's coverage."

The judge noted as precedent an NLRB order a decade ago requiring the reinstatement of a union activist as an editorial writer at the Wichita (Kansas) *Eagle* and *Beacon* after she had been demoted for her organizing work.

Stoddard's tenacity has not endeared him

to *Herald-News* executives. Shortly after the NLRB ruling, the reporter was transferred from Morris County, which he had covered for a decade, to the Essex County government beat. "I have no sources there, no experience with the people like I have here," says Stoddard with a sigh. The paper says the move is part of a long-planned strategy to strengthen coverage of Essex County, but Stoddard has a different view: "It's management's way of getting even, I guess. I'll just try to do the best job I can."

Eric Nadler

Eric Nadler is a free-lance writer who lives in New York.

ACLU: Shy on intelligence?

If, as seems likely, major news organizations decide to test the recently approved Intelligence Identities Protection Act in the courts, they will be doing so without assistance from the one group that would perhaps be most expected to lend support — the American Civil Liberties Union.

Although the group is reluctant to discuss the matter publicly, one top official says that the ACLU has decided not to challenge the legislation, despite its repeated claims that the act violates the First Amendment. The decision, says the official, was reached out of a conviction that the present Supreme Court would uphold the bill.

The ACLU's skittishness comes after its little-publicized, unhappy role in the bargaining over the language of the legislation, which makes it a crime for journalists and others to disclose the names of intelligence agents when there is "reason to believe" that the disclosure would impair intelligence operations abroad. First Amendment advocates had pushed for an "intent" standard, which, proponents believe, would have limited application to such publications as *Covert Action Information Bulletin* that purposely seek to frustrate intelligence activities.

"We knew that we could not stop Congress from passing the bill," says Morton Halperin, who works for the ACLU, "so we decided from the beginning that we could concentrate on making it as narrow in scope as possible." On July 13, 1981, Halperin and ACLU legislative counsel Jerry Berman struck a deal with CIA lawyers. The ACLU pledged it would not seek to delay congres-

sional consideration of the bill. In return, the CIA agreed to support the specific "intent" language preferred by the ACLU.

But someone from the CIA telephoned Representative John Ashbrook, a Republican from Ohio, with word of the deal. Ashbrook (who has since died) stood up on the House floor and, referring to the agreed-upon language, said, "I will lay it out flat. The language that I object to is American Civil Liberties Union language. . . . We have the ACLU internal documents. There is no doubt in my mind, I will say it factually, it is not our language, it is theirs."

Ashbrook then proposed "our language" — the far more encompassing "reason to believe" standard. To the shock and chagrin of the bill's opponents, Ashbrook's amendment passed 226 to 181. Subsequently, despite a successful attempt by the ACLU to downplay its involvement, the Senate adopted an identical amendment.

"The ACLU had tried to strike a deal and it backfired in their face," a former aide to Ashbrook recalls. "If the ACLU had never gotten involved, John would never have proposed his amendment. The ACLU just really pissed him off." One staff member of the House Intelligence committee describes Ashbrook's speech as "pure and simple ACLU-demagoguery," but adds that it was effective in garnering votes.

Halperin concedes that the ACLU's deal with the CIA had a detrimental effect on the House vote once it was publicized, but says that, even then, the ACLU had been caught unawares by the House action. "No one had

One of a series of messages in support of a brighter future for America.

DITCH DIGGERS IN THE BUREAUCRACY

Accomplishing the mission of a federal agency is like digging a ditch.

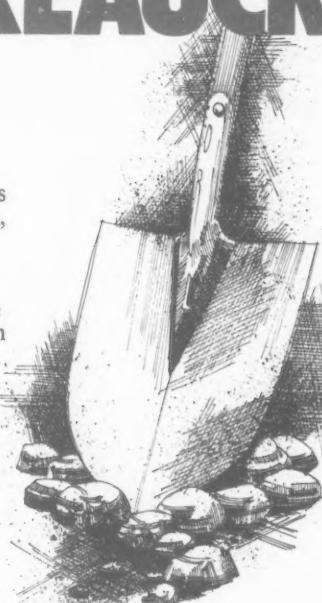
By analogy, ditch diggers perform the "program" function, directly contributing to completing the mission—that is, digging the ditch. Those who bring them shovels perform the "administrative" function which assists the program function.

If one person is digging the ditch and 10 are bringing shovels, then there is identifiable administrative waste. In fact, even if 10 dig and 5 bring shovels there is still administrative waste.

Obviously, the most efficient means to accomplish the mission of digging the ditch would be for the administrative people to help dig during periods when no one needs a new shovel.

The same is true with federal agencies.

Each agency has a mission. If it is determined that the mission is worthwhile and deserves to be accomplished, then a critical examination should be made of the program



and administrative functions.

If the administrative side is top-heavy, like most federal agencies, something should be done to get those individuals down in the metaphorical ditch with the program people.

There is discussion now of cutting approximately 150,000 federal jobs by fiscal 1987. The problem is: the

nuts and bolts decision of who specifically gets cut is an administrative one. Are we to assume administrative bureaucrats will cut their own jobs or jobs of those beneath them whose existence justifies their own?

This suggests an explanation why politicians historically have found it so difficult to control and pare the burgeoning federal bureaucracy.

The administrative bureaucrats cut—or threaten to cut—the programs first, particularly the most visible programs.

This phenomenon is known as "The Washington Monument Ploy."

That is, if the politicians want to cut the budget of the parks department, the bureaucrats react by threatening to close the Washington Monument to visitors.

What should be done is cut the administrative waste first. And get the administrative bureaucrats contributing directly to the accomplishment of the agency's mission.

In other words, get *them* digging the ditch.

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CHRONICLE

anticipated we were going to lose that vote," he says. "We had failed to make sure we had the votes in the first place."

Ed Hatcher

Ed Hatcher recently graduated from Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism.

Memo boomerang

The *Chicago Sun-Times* recently took a round of embarrassing jabs from two of its sports columnists. Last fall, the *Chicago Reader*, a weekly, quoted John Schulian's assertion that the sports section is the *Sun-Times*'s only solid feature and that the "rest of this paper is shit." Then, in January, Bill Gleason, in a *Reader* interview, described *Sun-Times* higher-ups as those "donkeys running our place" and Mike Royko, the paper's star columnist, as a "bore."

In response, *Sun-Times* editor and executive vice president Ralph Otwell on April 5 issued an in-house memo, entitled, somewhat grandly, "Policy on Public Statements About Sun-Times." It stated, in part:

Recent events have led us to the realization that perhaps we have been too forgiving of public statements that disparage the quality of our newspaper and fellow employees. . . . [E]very employee must recognize a responsibility to avoid public comments that undermine the public perception of the quality of our newspaper, and the ability and integrity of those we work with. . . . All employees should be aware, therefore, that verbal or written statements by employees which publicly impugn the quality of the products, services or employees of any division of the Employer may constitute cause for disciplinary action.

Unfortunately for Otwell, his memo did not remain in-house for long. Within twenty-four hours the statement found its way into the eager hands of some Chicago pundits, and the reaction was predictable. "As everyone knows, journalists are the greatest defenders of free expression," wrote Neil Tesser in a *Chicago Reader* column titled SUN-TIMES GAG ORDER: LOOSE LIPS, PINK SLIPS. "[S]cratch any journalist, and you'll find an impassioned First Amendment-lover underneath. Why, just this week we were thrilled to see the subject being discussed — in ringing tones — by *Sun-Times* editor Ralph Otwell in a memo to the paper's staffers. . . ."

At the *Sun-Times*, meanwhile, business went on as usual. One staff member, asked for his opinion, called the statement "an asinine PR move," proving in the process that the memo has not been a total success.

Bill Gyves

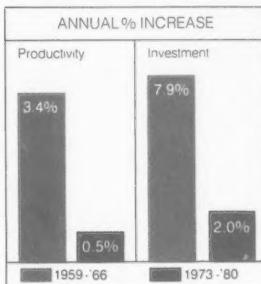
It died of unnatural causes.

Too many factories in too many American cities are dying. Unnecessarily and prematurely. They are the products of an unproductive economy. Our economy.

Not long ago, we all thought it just couldn't happen here.

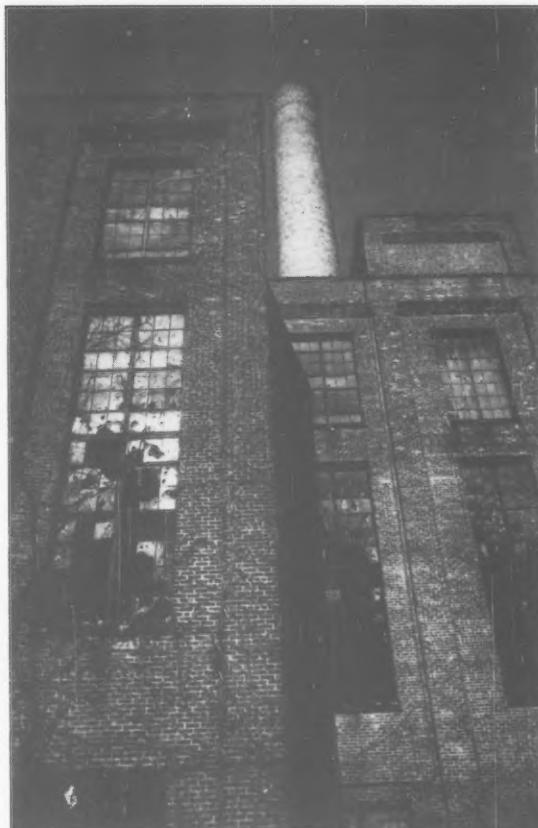
The fact is, however, that the United States has the highest percentage of obsolete plants, the lowest percentage of capital investment and the lowest growth of productivity of any major industrial country.

That didn't happen overnight, of course. This chart points out just how much, and how rapidly, our economy has declined:



Comparing the early 60's with the late 70's, America's average annual growth in productivity was lower by 85%. Allowing for inflation, real investment growth in plants, machinery and equipment dropped by 74%.

No one can expect labor to produce without tools. But since 1975, there's been a steady decline in the amount of capital per worker in this country.



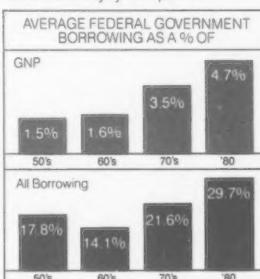
A close examination of our economic illness points to one major cause: An overdose of government.

Ever increasing levels of government spending and borrowing have squeezed productive industry out of credit markets.

Without credit, businesses cannot buy the plant and equipment they need to expand and increase their productivity.

This chart shows the growing impact of government borrowing as a percentage of

GNP and of total borrowing over a thirty-year period:



As the government expanded its borrowing, private industry cut back. To reverse

this trend, growth in government spending must be slowed in the years ahead.

Hidden in all these statistics are countless human losses: Lost jobs, lost incomes—lost dreams.

We're W.R. Grace & Co., a \$6½ billion company producing chemicals, natural resources and consumer products. Even though our interests are worldwide, we consider the loss of any American industry a death in the family. And we believe we all have a responsibility to revive productivity at home. To do that, we must invest.

Our own capital expenditures through the years testify to that belief. From 1965-1975, our average annual increase in capital expenditures was 8.9%. From 1975-1981, we averaged an 18.7% increase per year.

And now, by cutting taxes, eliminating excess regulation and by providing the impetus to reduce the size of the federal government, President Reagan has supplied us all with new incentives. We must make the most of them immediately.

The drive and dreams that first built America's factories are needed now to unlock a productive future for our nation. And each of us holds the key.

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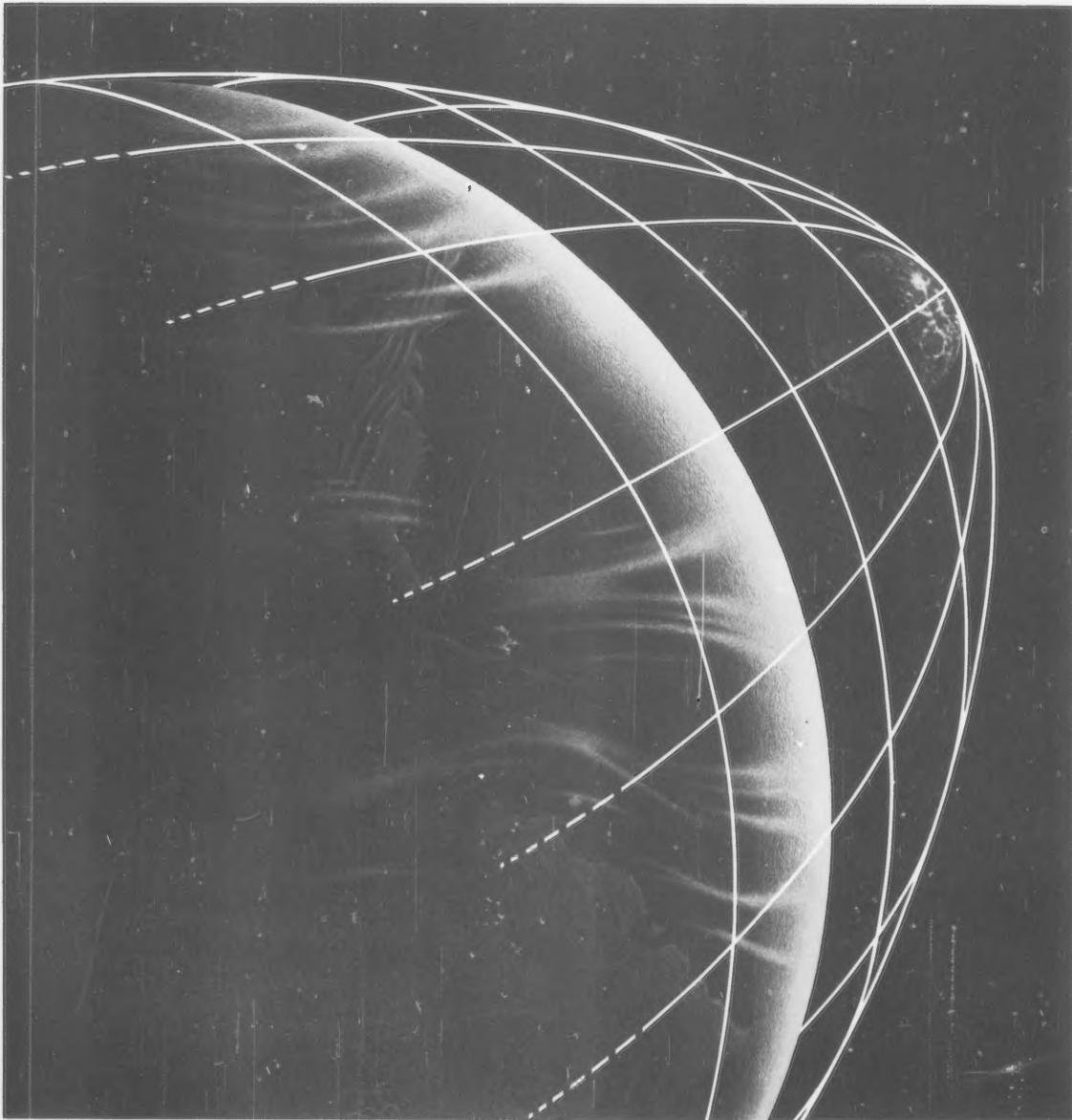
Amoco scientists use a borehole gravimeter that can detect gravitational pull as small as three-millionths of an ounce. Porous rock, capable of holding oil and natural gas, exerts less pull than non-porous rock.

Amoco geophysicists use these gravity readings to help locate oil and gas zones, such as those found in Michigan. Equally important, these data are invaluable in determining areas where well testing would be unproductive.

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CAPITAL LETTER

by C. T. HANSON

The new plumbers

The Washington Post reported recently that a group of Argentine journalists had provided their own finale to a televised Buenos Aires press conference on the Falkland Islands crisis by shouting "Long live the Fatherland!"

This demonstration was not too surprising in a military dictatorship that had just seized the long-coveted islands. Nor was it surprising that Ronald Reagan decided to lend Mrs. Thatcher a hand in her efforts to restore British democracy — including, presumably, the benefits of a free press — to those beleaguered Falkland shepherds.

What was ironic was Reagan's simultaneous pursuit of a much less libertarian version of Anglo-American solidarity. In April, the administration quickened its effort to impose a de facto, British-style official secrets act to curb press criticism of U.S. military policies. It is a program in the tradition of secretive Whitehall: harsh punishment of leakers; tougher restrictions on information; and, in one instance, evident cooperation with British intelligence to keep an embarrassing item from the reading public in both nations.

Since the president stopped well short of joining the Falklands hostilities, there was considerable amazement at an April 27 press conference when Pentagon spokesman Henry Catto justified the tough policy on secrets as follows: "You will remember the posters in World War Two, 'Loose lips sink ships.' "

Question: We are not at war.

Catto: That is true [but leaks are] giving aid and comfort to adversaries.

Question: The Soviets, or congressional critics of the budget?

Catto: I had in mind the Soviets.

There is contrary evidence, however. Indeed, the administration's philosophy appears to be that loose lips might sink ships in Congress before they get the

chance to be sunk on the high seas.

Take the proposal to build two huge nuclear-powered aircraft carriers at an estimated total cost of nearly \$7 billion. As Congress was deliberating the issue, retired Navy Lieutenant Commander Dean Knuth drafted an article for *Naval Institute Proceedings* pointing out that such huge carriers had proved very vulnerable to guided weapons in recent war games. But on May 3 the Pentagon pounced, stamping the article "secret" and blocking publication. (The next day, HMS *Sheffield* was blown out of the South Atlantic by a single guided rocket, underscoring the vulnerability of surface ships, but it was beyond the Pentagon's power to classify that incident.)

Suppressing the carrier article was but a small part of the larger mosaic. Some bureaucrats have been forced to sign pledges never to release official information without permission. President Reagan signed an executive order in April making it easier for officials to classify documents, thereby undermining the Freedom of Information Act and impeding the access of writers and scholars to foreign policy documents.

And then there was the ordeal of John C. F. Tillson IV. A fourth generation West Pointer, winner of two Silver Stars and a Purple Heart in Vietnam, Tillson stood accused of the ultimate disloyalty — leaking sensitive information to *The Washington Post*.

Post reporter George Wilson wrote last January that the Joint Chiefs of Staff thought that up to an additional \$750 billion dollars — above and beyond the \$1.6 trillion already requested — would be needed over the next five years to implement Reagan's ambitious global anti-Soviet strategy. This report put Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in the curiously contradictory and embarrassing position at congressional budget hearings of having to argue both that the

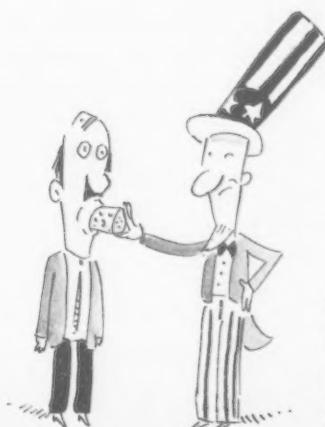
Soviet threat can scarcely be exaggerated, and that it has been overblown by the top U.S. military officers.

No sooner had the *Post* story appeared than an inquisition by lie detector was imposed on the thirty-odd officials who had been privy to the secret. Tillson, a manpower analyst, was among the suspects. He failed the test three times and so was ordered fired, partly to set a frightening example to would-be leakers, according to Henry Catto.

The information Tillson is accused of leaking was not classified, only "official" — a broad category indeed.

Tillson fervently denied the charge and Wilson says, "I wrote Weinberger and told him this guy is one hundred percent innocent as far as being my source goes." His letter suggested that Tillson was nervous during the tests because of prior contacts with Wilson on Capitol Hill, where the accused man once worked.

Yet the Pentagon, in its eagerness to set an example, continued to rely on lie-detector evidence that courts deem highly unreliable. It kept Tillson writhing in limbo for more than four months while the matter was consid-



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ered. Ultimately, on May 18, Weinberger settled for a reprimand and restored Tillson's access to secrets. "He should have sent a letter of apology," said Tillson's lawyer, James Heller.

In addition to the chilling effect of the Tillson matter on other bureaucrats, there is the awkward precedent of Wilson's well-intentioned exonerating letter: If a reporter fails to provide such a letter in the future, will this be taken as further evidence that an accused leaker is guilty? On the other hand, couldn't admitting who is *not* one's source violate confidentiality by helping officials narrow down the list of suspects? Significantly, Wilson says that at least one other suspect has asked him for a letter of exoneration.

Meanwhile, on April 2, as Tillson's fate was being decided, Reagan signed an executive order permitting the "reclassification" of information previously released by the government.

An immediate target of this move was V. James Bamford, a Boston free-lancer who has just completed a book about the ultrasecret National Security Agency (NSA). In 1979, Bamford obtained documents revealing that British intelligence had spied on American antiwar activists like Jane Fonda in the late sixties and early seventies and had systematically turned the information over to the NSA. This cozy arrangement gave the U.S. agency grounds for "plausible denial" that it had spied on its own citizens.

According to Bamford and his attorneys, the Justice Department was fully aware in 1979 of the documents' provocative contents. Yet two years later the department insisted they had been released accidentally and threatened Bamford with legal action if he published his book this fall as scheduled. What had happened was that Bamford had written a British official in April 1981, requesting a comment about the spying. Within a short time, apparently after the British had made noises, Justice was on the phone to Bamford with demands that he return the documents. He has refused to cooperate and awaits the government's next move.

This is only one of several recent attempts to reclassify information. In an-

other case, government archivists persuaded a researcher to return a document temporarily for purposes of "record-keeping" and then an Air Force official snipped out sensitive passages with scissors. A government spokesman later told Congress that in some cases deceit could be justified to recover and reclassify documents released inadvertently by responsible high officials.

Of course, release of secret information by responsible high officials is not always inadvertent. And when it is intentionally done by the likes of Weinberger, says Henry Catto, it is permissible, indeed proper, because such men see "the big picture."

The wisdom of high officials also apparently permits them to determine which inadvertent leaks to condemn and which to embrace. On March 4, Weinberger abandoned his usual practice of attacking leaks. He confirmed at a congressional budget hearing that a Pentagon report — inadvertently made public by Representative Ken Kramer of Colorado — had disclosed that the Kremlin could deploy laser weapons in space by 1983.

However, in a later hearing, Air Force Chief of Staff General Lew Allen expressed skepticism that the laser threat is so great. Apparently there is more than one big picture.

Just what effect have the administration's efforts since January had on loose lips in government? The impact of Tillson's ordeal is difficult to gauge, although *Post* reporter Wilson says, "It's kind of poisoned the well."

On the other hand, the classified article on vulnerable aircraft carriers did leak and was reported on page one of the *Post*. Bamford's documents on British-American spying were acquired and revealed by *The Boston Globe* and the *London Sunday Times*. This suggests that reclassifying information is something like trying to return whipped cream to an aerosol can.

In short, news management a la Whitehall has not been an unqualified success. Try as they may, our leaders cannot really emulate their brethren across the water, and this is just the sort of incompetence that makes America great. Long live the Fatherland. ■

COMMENT

O'Neill and the power of positive editing

A speech by an editor generally causes as little stir as, say, a sermon or a commencement address. But the presentation by Michael J. O'Neill to the American Society of Newspaper Editors — which proved to be not only O'Neill's farewell as ASNE president but also his valedictory as editor of the *New York Daily News* — has drawn extraordinary attention. Ever since Watergate, American journalism has been in a state of uncomfortable public visibility, and O'Neill's call for a pullback from what he sees as dangerous and exposed positions has been greeted by some as a way to ease the strain.

O'Neill's argument is not unfamiliar: he starts from a premise that in the last decade journalism has become a kind of hostile power loosed upon the polity, to the point that the news media not only have become a major determinant of political issues and elections, but have eroded the powers of Congress, made and ruined presidents, and broken down the political parties. The chief engine of this power, he says, has been television, the influence of which he regards as "baleful."

Then, dismissing television as a phenomenon largely beyond control or reform, he directs his advice to the newspaper press. He sees two characteristics of newspaper journalism as "adding to the general turmoil." The first is what he calls "the press's harshly adversarial posture toward government"; the second, "its infatuation with investigative reporting." Both of these, he suggests, embody an arrogance that produces a journalism that is unbalanced, negative, and egocentric.

What are the remedies? First, "an editorial philosophy that is more positive, more tolerant of the frailties of human institutions and their leaders." Second, less foolish certitude that whatever journalism produces is the truth. Third, to "make peace with the government; we should not be its enemy." Fourth, to "cure ourselves of our adversarial mind-set." Fifth, stricter control by older editors of younger journalists, to whom O'Neill seems to attribute many of journalism's faults. He concludes: "What we need most of all in our profession is a generous spirit, infused with human warmth, as ready to see good as to suspect wrong, to find hope as well as cynicism, to have a clear but uncrabbed view of the world."

Who can quarrel with the sentiment? Metropolitan journalism — and O'Neill's *Daily News* was scarcely an exception — has long been lubricated by a shallow cynicism

that dates more from *The Front Page* than from Watergate. True, the national press has too often gone off baying like hounds at very little foxes. And, true, television news has too often portrayed a chaotic, senseless world — the world that was once the exclusive province of the tabloids. There is a case to be made, moreover — and such critics as Paul H. Weaver have made it — that a largely cooperative relationship between government and the press is best for both the press and the public.

Where O'Neill's formulation breaks down is not in its sentiments but rather in its factual and historical basis. He equates investigative reporting with "muckraking," which he equates in turn with "chasing corrupt officials," a diversion that he says has kept the press from pursuing more important stories. Such a brush-off scarcely does justice either to the broad historical character of muckraking or to the range and depth of modern investigative journalism, the best of which is aimed not merely at picking off individual malefactors but at uncovering malfunctions in social agencies, systems, and processes.

His position also seems to lead to his bumping into himself as he comes around the corner. He contends that obsession with muckraking kept the press from paying enough attention to such truly important stories as the early involvement of the United States in Vietnam. Yet the coverage of that story in the early 1960s is almost a textbook example of being at "peace with government," in O'Neill's phrase. To have challenged Vietnam policy before 1968 would have been truly adversarial; by and large, the press declined the challenge. Here, indeed, is the flaw in the argument that press and government should unfailingly cooperate — the danger that the government will make the press into a mere policy transmission belt.

This raises the additional question of whether the press has had a destructive effect on government and politics. It is a question that should not be answered as polemically as



O'Neill and the political scientists he quotes have done. The historical roots of all the problems he cites long predate the rise in media power that he sees as occurring over the last decade. The party system, eroded by lowered levels of political participation, has been in erratic decline since the nineteenth century. The problems of Congress date at least from the New Deal stalemate of the late 1930s. And the accumulation of power that led to the imperial presidency may have simply drawn the media along in its train, as James Reston has contended. In each of these instances, it could be argued that the news media were not so much seizing power as being pulled into a vacuum.

All of this is said less in the spirit of rebuttal than as a caution — that journalists should not mistake the style and manner of power for actual power. Certainly, they can concur in O'Neill's call for more humane and understanding journalism without abandoning the monitoring and investigative functions that society has, after all, come to expect of them.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to KSDK-TV, St. Louis, and George Noory, the station's news director, who also reports for duty as public relations officer for the U.S. Naval Reserve, a job that requires him to schedule public appearances for naval brass who come to town. **Laurel:** to Eric Mink, TV critic for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who in an April 9 column made waves about Noory's apparent conflict of interest. **Dart:** to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, which the following day lowered an editorial boom on Mink as an unpatriotic "pipsqueak," then smartly saluted two of its own newsmen who act as public affairs officers for the Air Force and Army reserves.

Laurel: to WMAQ-TV, Chicago, and reporter Paul Hogan, for a pair of illuminating reports that showed Commonwealth Edison in a less than favorable light: "Drilling for Dollars: Nuclear Plant Fraud" (February 3-4) revealed that the utility had paid five times the going rate — and had sometimes paid the same bill twice — for concrete drilling at a nuclear power plant in La Salle County, Illinois, at a cost to consumers of two million dollars; "Who's Minding the Core?" (March 27) investigated allegations of security breaches and drug abuse at two of the utility's nuclear plants. Taking a dim view of such attention, Commonwealth Edison reconsidered its spring schedule for commercials on WMAQ, and decided to switch them off.

Laurel: to *Federal Times*, of Washington, D.C., and associate editor Sheila Hershow, for a high-powered exposé of irregularities at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's lunchtime blast in honor of retiring director Daniel J. Donoghue — a raunchy, for-men-only affair at which Donoghue, whose responsibilities also included supervision of the agency's Federal Women's Program, was presented with such howlers as a cake in the shape of a well-endowed

The four Dutchmen and the forgetful press

On March 17, four Dutch journalists were killed in a rural part of El Salvador north of the capital. They had gone into the province of Chalatenango to make a documentary on the life of a typical farmer's family in an area controlled by the guerrillas. This was to be the second part of a series, the first of which focused on life in San Salvador and which, as it happened, was aired on Dutch television on March 17. On that day, too, an article by two of the journalists — Jacobus Andries Koster, who produced the series, and Jan Kuiper, who directed it — appeared on the front page of the weekly *Vrij Nederland*. The article was built around several interviews with Salvadoran officers and enlisted men. The title the authors suggested was a quote from an anonymous source: "Those foreign journalists should all be killed."

female torso; a replica of a pair of breasts with nipples that buzz at the touch; and a copy of the official guidelines on sexual harassment that are used in training the commission's managers.

Dart: to John Tarrant, publisher of John McGoff's News-Herald Newspapers in Wyandotte, Michigan, for a March 26 memo on changes in editorial policy that, among other things, directed "all of our newspapers to begin immediately to deemphasize hard news copy"; the order further decreed that "plant closings, business failures, and layoffs will not appear on the front page of any of our newspapers." **Laurel:** to editorial director John Cusumano, who promptly resigned in the face of the ludicrous "news" policy.

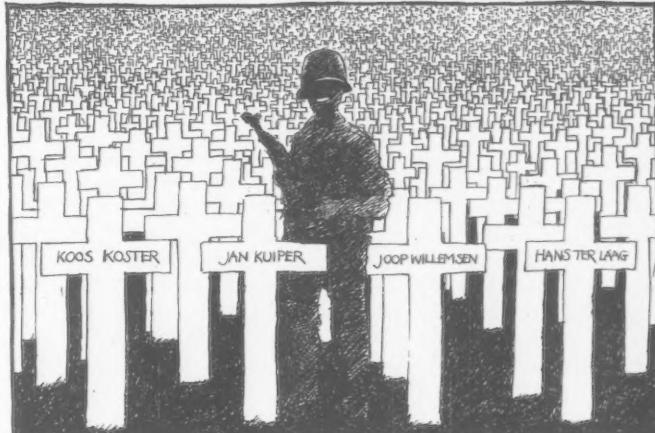
Laurel: to *U.S. News & World Report*, for a couple of first-class journalistic trips. Checking into the travel records of nearly 1,000 government bigwigs, the magazine discovered (March 15) a blatant pattern of official sumptuousness — flights to Europe on the supersonic, superexpensive Concorde; luxurious hotel suites at \$350 a day; private jaunts on Air Force jets at \$4,000 a throw — all paid for by the rest of us, while we uncomfortably tighten our belts. In a May 3 piece the magazine explored the ground further, documenting costs to taxpayers of private chefs, fancy new office digs, and swank vacations for government officials, not to mention a 100 percent increase in chauffeur-driven cars for White House aides.

Double Dart: to KLBJ-AM, Austin, Texas, for misplaced sensitivities. First, the station instituted a policy requiring news personnel to deliver commercials, and fired those who balked. Then, when taken to task about it in *The Austin Press* by Winston Bode, a columnist for the paper who also happens to produce a public affairs program regu-

The *Vrij Nederland* editors did not use that headline because, as they wrote in an editorial the following week, "We thought that too cynical. . . . Seldom were editors so bitterly proved wrong."

On March 18, the Salvadoran army stated that the news-men had died in the crossfire when the guerrillas accom-panying them opened fire on an army patrol. The next day President Reagan said that the U.S. Embassy in San Sal-va-dor had conducted a "full investigation" of the killings, and White House spokesman Larry Speakes said that the in-quiry had turned up "no information to contradict the El Salvador government report. . . ." As I. F. Stone pointed out in a May 1 *Nation* editorial, this curiously worded statement left unanswered the question of whether the in-quiry had turned up anything to confirm the report.

The Interchurch Broadcasting Company of the Nether-lands (IKON), for which the four journalists had been work-ing, and *The New York Times* conducted investigations of their own. Both organizations were hampered in their ef-



Protest and homage: This cartoon by Frits Müller appeared in the March 20 NRC Handelsblad, Rotterdam's leading daily.

larly carried on KLBJ, the station cancelled his show.

Laurel: to *The New Republic* and writer Steven Emerson, for "The American House of Saud," a multi-part in-vestigative report (February 17, May 19, June 16) docu-menting the frighteningly successful efforts of the Saudi Arabia lobby to manipulate American business, American public opinion, and American foreign policy — only one example of which was the massive (and largely unreported) campaign in support of the AWACs sale that was mounted by U.S. oil and munitions companies, farmers, toy manu-facturers, airlines, trade associations, health-care man-agement firms, rice growers, banks, construction firms, and bus companies. (Another example: *Saudi Arabia*, a laudatory three-part film aired this spring on PBS and underwritten by, among other companies, Morgan Guaranty Trust and Ford, both of which have extensive ties with Saudi business. Additional plans call for the circulation of 31,000 curriculum guides for use in secondary schools in conjunc-tion with the series. The guide was prepared, Emerson re-ports, by a former professor of an Aramco-funded course on the Middle East at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, for whose reappointment Aramco had specifically lobbied the university.)

Laurel: to *The New York Times* and reporters Michael Oreskes, Selwyn Raab, and Leslie Maitland, for "Tainted Industry: Construction in New York," a three-part series (April 25-27) on the pervasive corruption — payoffs, price-fixing, bid-rigging, labor racketeering, insurance fraud, and theft — that is rotting the foundations of the city's booming construction business and sending the cost of every tunnel, road, and building right through the roof.

Dart: to *The Bulletin* of the American Society of News-paper Editors and *Chicago Tribune* columnist Bob Greene,

for a sophomoric piece in the April issue that was billed as "a mini-guide to help you prepare for your convention visit" — but that implicitly assumed a membership that is unadulteratedly male. Among the pointers Greene suggested "you might clip out and keep in your wallet" during the ASNE convention in Chicago: "You will en-counter a number of bars with enticing-looking women . . . These women will invariably be clad in seductive clothing. . . . One of the women will immediately come over and sit down next to you . . . and put her hand in your lap. . . . She will ask you to buy her a glass of champagne. . . ." And so on.

Laurel: to WRC-TV, Washington, D.C., and investiga-tive consumer reporter Lea Thompson, for "DPT: Vaccine Roulette," a stinging report on the questionable benefits of the series of shots against diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus that children must have before entering school — but that can cause devastating brain damage, as too many parents have learned too late. Representing fourteen months of re-search, the hour-long documentary (April 19) produced a healthy reaction from Congress, which appropriated funds to the National Institutes of Health to conduct a thorough study.

Laurel: to *The Tulsa (Oklahoma) Tribune* and reporter Mary Hargrove, for the first detailed account (March 29-April 1) of the gushing evidence of massive fraud in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, the government's \$40- to \$50-billion program designed to store up to a billion barrels of crude oil for civil and military use in the event of cutoffs or national emergency. Among the greasier charges, cur-rently under federal investigation: that 13,000,000 barrels of the reserve's "good" oil was swapped for unusable, hazardous sludge.

forts by their inability to interview members of the Salvadoran patrol. Both came to the conclusion that the four men and their guerrilla escorts had been ambushed by the patrol. On April 13, the Dutch government issued a provisional report that called the official Salvadoran account "in parts questionable and not worthy of credit," advising that "a deliberate attack on the journalists must not be excluded."

Only *The Washington Post*, it would seem, regarded the release of this report as an occasion to do a bit of digging. Marlise Simons's April 15 account in the *Post* included comments from a foreign ministry source in The Hague who said that the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador had turned down Dutch requests for assistance in obtaining interviews with members of the Salvadoran patrol and with U.S. military advisers at a barracks near the site of the killings. The visit of Queen Beatrix to this country — she arrived on April 17 — apparently helped to bring about a change in the State Department's attitude. During the royal visit, Dutch Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel met with Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and urged him to grant the assistance previously denied the Dutch investigators. "We assured the Dutch government," a State Department spokesman said recently, "that we would support their request to interview people involved in the incident." On May 14, nearly two months after the killings, the Dutch were informed that arrangements had been made for their three-man investigative team to interview the sergeant in command of the platoon and several other soldiers.

The Dutch investigators produced their final report on June 1. It concluded that, while it was theoretically possible that the patrol had prepared an ambush, this could not be proved; nor, on the other hand, could it be proved that the encounter was accidental. Barend de Ronden, director of radio at IKON, commented: "They did not try to question their earlier conclusions; they simply added more information and arrived at the same conclusions." In short, it was a report that could satisfy nobody — except, perhaps, bureaucrats in The Hague and Washington and San Salvador, relieved to be done with the whole troublesome business.

The U.S. media, meanwhile, had allowed the story to fade well in advance of its official June conclusion. That the slain men were not U.S. citizens may, conceivably, account for this lack of sustained interest. Yet this was hardly a foreign story. For example, among those who were named on a hit list circulated in San Salvador on March 17 were Raymond Bonner and Alan Riding of *The New York Times*, Karen de Young and Christopher Dickey of *The Washington Post*, Shirley Christian of *The Miami Herald*, Robin Lloyd of NBC News, and Sean Kelly of the Voice of America.

Quickly caught up by other events, the press failed to raise some pertinent questions about the Reagan administration's role in the whole affair. Why had it so precipitously given its stamp of approval to the Salvadoran report? Why did it resist Dutch requests for assistance in ascertaining the truth? Is it true — as some Dutch journalists claim

Other voices

Galbraith on economics and the press

There is no hope that the press can be stopped from asking [public officials] for [economic] forecasts, however foolish the ritual. And there is no hope that officials can be stopped from giving them. I would, however, lay down a couple of rules of procedure for all in this room. Never ask a public official about the economic prospect without having his previous forecast in hand. Wave it in a circumspect way and ask him what went wrong. Then report the earlier fantasy along with the current dementia. The public has a right to hear. The reaction could, on occasion, remind the official that he doesn't really have a clue. . . .

The official forecast as duly reported by the press is, perhaps, the most banal of our public rituals, a hard competition to win. There is a closely related one to which no one has given a name. I will move fearlessly into the vacuum; let it be called the asymmetrical cyclical syndrome. The ACS concerns the way the economy moves from good performance to bad and on occasion (one hopes) back again. A downward movement of the economy into a recession or perhaps a crypto-depression — in any case, what we now experience — must always be seen as a natural cyclical phenomenon. In the established reference, faithfully repeated by the press, it must always be said that "the

economy has moved into a recession" . . . recovery from a slump, in contrast, is always something that wise policy achieves. The economy moves itself into recession; intelligent economic design is what moves it out. It was wise policy that has given us a temporary respite from inflation. The recession that accomplished it was something that just came along. Thus my terminology — the asymmetrical cyclical syndrome.

It is nonsense. If policy gets us out of a recession, then policy also gets us in. You are being gullied into saying that bad news is an act of nature, good news the work of man. For shame.

From a speech by John Kenneth Galbraith at the National Press Club on April 29.

Pollak on the peace beat

No major news organization in this country has made peace and disarmament a regular beat, and as far as I know no journalist is assigned full time to reporting on the fact that the ultimate deadline is upon us all. . . . Rather than make peace a subject of sustained concern, the media boast a cadre of hard-nosed defense specialists and military affairs correspondents who assiduously record the endless stream of official pronouncements that pass for thoughtful dis-

— that our government's belated assistance was held up pending the removal of the crosses honoring the dead that had been planted by protesters in front of the American consulate in Amsterdam?

Commitment to the safety of living journalists, if not compassion for the dead, would seem to have required the press to stay with a story it prematurely abandoned. For journalists, if not for governments, the story should remain on the agenda.

The Review gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Freke Vuijst, IKON's U.S. correspondent, in preparing this editorial.

Op-ed: a swing and a miss

Ordinarily we do not burden our readers with reports on the internal editorial processes of the *Review*. But perhaps a word is in order about the genesis of the advertisement, paid for by Accuracy in Media, Inc., that appears on page 54.

Several weeks ago, Reed Irvine, AIM's chairman, called to say that he would like to write an article responding to an editorial ("A Political Press?") published in our May/June issue. In it, CJR defended reporters who, in the name of objectivity, try to be fair in their coverage of conflicts like that in El Salvador. Mr. Irvine was told that the *Review*, as it happened, was planning to start a sort of op-ed page, for which it would welcome, among other things, short essays taking issue with the *Review*. We said we would be happy to

print a piece such as Mr. Irvine proposed, provided it was interesting and had something fresh to say.

In due course Mr. Irvine's essay arrived. We asked him to make some changes — notably, to point out, with examples, how and when reporters might be expected to place the interests of their country above the demands of objectivity. But the changes he made did not seem to us to do the trick, and we were left with an essay that struck us as essentially a rehearsal of arguments with which most of our readers would almost certainly be familiar. (Indeed, the editorial to which Mr. Irvine takes exception was an answer to such arguments as set forth in *The Wall Street Journal*.)

We told Mr. Irvine that we would be pleased to print an abridged version of his essay in "Unfinished Business," to which he has been a frequent contributor. Under the rules governing this department, he would be at liberty to say whatever he liked, so long as he kept it short. But he declined the offer, saying that he preferred to buy advertising space in which to run the piece we had turned down. Readers are thus presented with a rare opportunity to second-guess the editors of CJR.

What remains to be said is that, even though we failed to come to terms editorially with Mr. Irvine, we are still interested in printing short (1,000 words or less) opinion pieces (for which we will pay at our usual rates), and the opinions need not agree at all with those of the *Review*'s editors. All we ask of such contributions is that they deal with important journalistic issues — and that they be fresh and well-argued.

cussion of the nuclear arms race and other "defense" matters. . . .

Journalists love to believe they operate on the cutting edge; more often they blunt history, rooted as they are in continuity and sameness. I don't minimize for a moment the excellent reporting on many fronts that gets done around the country; but most journalism, whatever its virtues, in the end provides a familiar and comforting security blanket we daily clutch to reassure ourselves about the status quo. Even now that it has begun to recognize the urgency of the story, conventional journalism is utterly incapable of dealing with the prospect of world suicide. [Jonathan] Schell writes that we must "reinvent politics" if we are to save ourselves. The media require no less.

From "Covering the Unthinkable," by Richard Pollak, in The Nation of May 1.

Luedtke (to publishers) on arrogance

We have bred a whole generation of newspaper people who without apparent difficulty hold simultaneously in their heads the notions that they are armed with a mandate from the public and are accountable to no one save you. You ride whichever horse suits you in the situation until eventually you are persuaded that whatever you choose to do with your

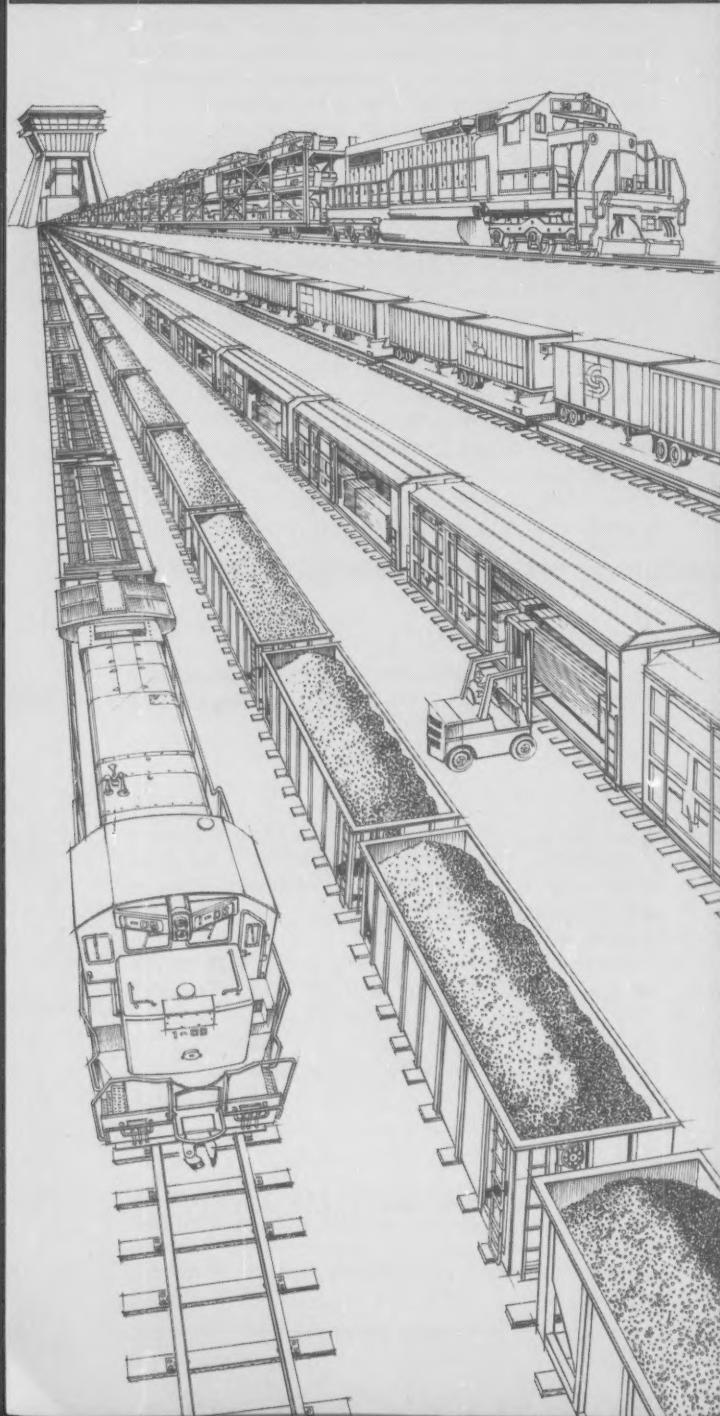
newspaper is somehow done in the service of the republic. The press is full of itself these days, and frequently it is simply full of it.

There is no such thing as the public's right to know. You made that up, taking care not to specify what it was that the public had a right to know. The public knows whatever you choose to tell it, no more, no less. If the public did have a right to know, it would then have something to say about what it is you choose to call news. At which point, bring on the First Amendment, Charlie, these guys are trying to tell me what to print. . . .

The publication of a newspaper is in itself a pretentious act: it should come with a daily apology. We are met instead with your firm insistence that you must be uncontrolled so that you can perform — unbidden — an essential public service which is so essential that the people for whom it is being performed must not be allowed to control it. That is wonderfully circular but not very endearing. Such thinking must inevitably lead to arrogance, and it has.

*From an article in The Washington Post of May 2, adapted from a speech by Kurt Luedtke to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in San Francisco. Mr. Luedtke, a former executive editor of the Detroit Free Press, wrote the screenplay for *Absence of Malice*.*

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The government shuts up

The Reagan administration is stonewalling reporters
on the intelligence beat —
except, of course, when leaks serve its purposes

by JAY PETERZELL

The most rigorous paradox is Epimenides' confession "I am lying": if true, it is false; and if false, it is true.

The Reagan paradox is less rigorous but more troubling, at least to many reporters who cover foreign policy and other beats that frequently involve access to national security information. The paradox is that the Reagan administration has placed unprecedented restrictions on press access to intelligence information but is at least as willing as past administrations to use leaks and selective declassification to support its foreign policy. The result is that security-minded officials have released information — on Libyan threats to assassinate President Reagan, for example — that reveals intelligence sources and methods but which, like Epimenides, leaves us dizzy about the truth.

Attempts to use the press to influence policy are, of course, not limited to the intelligence community. But the CIA or the National Security Council differs from the U.S. Forest Service in that information obtained from the former often cannot be independently confirmed by reporters. It may come from an unreliable or unevaluated source; it may be a conclusion based on secret evidence that does not fully support it; it may have been released as part of an intelligence operation of which the press is unaware. As one *Washington Post* reporter who has "dealt fairly extensively with the CIA" put it, intelligence information is difficult for journalists because "it is less exposed to the cut and thrust of public dialogue about its accuracy and its origin, and it's not so readily accessible to checks on its authenticity."

The Libyan hit-squad story is a good case in point. On October 8, 1981, the *New York Post* carried a "Jack Anderson Exclusive" reporting that the National Security Agency had intercepted a phone call between Libya and Ethiopia shortly after the U.S. shot down two Libyan jets over the Gulf of Sidra last August. During the phone call, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi threatened to have Reagan assas-

sinated. "It was not an adverse leak [i.e. it was not hostile to the administration]," Anderson associate Dale Van Atta recalled. "The source was an NSA source." The story was also covered by *Newsweek* and *NBC Magazine*; then it disappeared.

On November 23, *Newsweek* breathed new life into the story after State Department correspondent John Walcott learned that officials now thought Qaddafi had dispatched death squads, armed with bazookas, grenade launchers, and SAM-7 missiles, that were gunning for Reagan and other top U.S. officials. For the next three weeks the press was filled with lurid accounts of countersniper teams on the White House roof, nationwide searches for assassination squads, and even the involvement of the dread Venezuelan terrorist "Carlos." The source of the government reports was later learned to be a former Lebanese terrorist who walked into an American embassy in mid-November and claimed to have heard Qaddafi give the "kill" order the preceding month.

It was on December 6, only a few hours after Qaddafi had dismissed the reports as "big lies," that the State Department for the first time went on record as saying that "we have strong evidence that Qaddafi has been plotting the murder of American officials. . . ." The next day Reagan added: "We have the evidence and [Qaddafi] knows it." On December 10, the president called on some 2,000 U.S. oil company employees and other Americans to leave Libya — a request the administration had made repeatedly and unsuccessfully over the past year to clear the way for economic and military actions reportedly designed to culminate in Qaddafi's downfall.

As soon as most Americans had reluctantly agreed to leave Libya, the hit-squad threat evaporated. "The risk is diminished some," Senate majority leader Howard Baker told *The Washington Post* on December 16. FBI Director William Webster, who had been skeptical all along, said in January that as far as he could tell no Libyan assassins had ever entered the United States. Evidence presented at classified briefings during the height of the crisis "got flimsier and flimsier," a member of the Senate Intelligence

Jay Peterzell is a research associate at the Center for National Security Studies, a Washington-based organization funded by the American Civil Liberties Union and The Fund for Peace.



committee said in a recent interview. "The more credible people in the agency were telling us over and over there was not enough evidence to justify the public outcry." Asked whether any evidence had been presented apart from the NSA intercept and the testimony of the informer, he said: "No. That was it."

"It was by far the most bizarre story I've been involved in," recalled Philip Taubman, who on December 4 had broken *The New York Times*'s long — and prudent — silence about the hit squad with a front-page story revealing that the administration had received reports that five terrorists had entered the country. "I don't think we were used initially," Taubman said, "but the administration used the crisis and took advantage of it once it got out."

CBS's Fred Graham, who had covered the story with considerable skepticism, commented: "You know, we all try to learn from things that happen to us and build in safeguards. The fact is that this can happen to us again tomorrow and there's not a damn thing we in the media can do about it, when you have the president of the United States coming out and confirming it. . . . The press is caught and public officials are caught."

Check it out? How?

Determining the truth is a chronic difficulty for reporters who deal with intelligence information. But traditionally it

has been offset to some degree by a network of formal and informal relationships with mid- and lower-level officials that allowed reporters both to check the accuracy of information with people they have come to trust and to gain background information essential to understanding government actions. "There is considerable value in reporters from serious outfits being briefed, as far as it's possible, so they can understand the intelligence background which affects policy decisions," one defense reporter commented. "I just don't think any administration's policies can be properly analysed and understood unless everyone's working on more or less the same background."

It is this network of relationships which, according to interviews with officials and with more than thirty reporters who cover foreign affairs, defense, and intelligence issues, is threatened by measures the Reagan administration has taken to stop unauthorized leaks and to restrict the authorized flow of information to the press. Past administrations have on occasion become apoplectic about leaks, but rarely have they responded with such a public and many-leveled attempt to seal off the bureaucracy. (See also Capital Letter on page 23.)

Last year the CIA, the NSA, and the Defense Intelligence Agency asked Congress to exempt them totally from the Freedom of Information Act. They did not get their wish, but in October President Reagan submitted a package of



CJR/Arnold Roth

amendments to the Senate that would have partly accomplished the same thing by authorizing the attorney general to exempt certain classes of intelligence files from disclosure. The proposal would also have stripped courts of the power to determine whether information disputed in FOIA cases is properly classified; instead, they would be limited to deciding, usually on the basis of secret affidavits from the agency itself, whether the decision to classify had been "arbitrary or capricious." (On May 20, the package was defeated in the Judiciary committee, but it is expected to be reintroduced on the Senate floor or in the next Congress.)

While his FOI Improvements Act was proceeding through the Senate, the president lowered the standard for classification with a stroke of the pen so that now virtually only the devil himself can be shown to have made a capricious decision. On April 2 of this year, Reagan signed a new executive order on national security information that eliminates the requirement that information be classified only if its release can reasonably be expected to cause "identifiable" damage to national security. The order also eliminates the need to balance the public interest in disclosure against the possibility of such damage when deciding to classify. Further, it creates a presumption that intelligence sources and methods are classified even when they are not otherwise sensitive, allows officials to

reclassify information already released, and does away with provisions for automatically reviewing old records to determine whether they should remain secret.

Although the Justice Department official responsible for information policy recently said that the FOIA is "over-rated" and has not resulted in the release of much valuable information, studies by the Congressional Research Service and by a private Washington research organization have identified some ninety-six books and more than 300 news articles based entirely or in part on documents released under the act, many of them by the various intelligence agencies. What is perhaps more important, the existence of the law and the disclosure provisions of the old executive order created a climate that helped reporters gain access to unclassified information that had not yet been made public. The most important effect of the new provisions may be the signal they send to the bureaucracy. "When you expand the classification system as this administration has," observed veteran *Washington Post* reporter Murrey Marder, "you're telling anyone intelligent in the foreign policy area, 'Buddy, your feet are in the fire!'"

To chill a source

A more direct threat to relations between journalists and officials is the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which has now passed both houses of Congress, and which will

soon be signed into law. The bill became controversial because of a section that could make it illegal for reporters to identify undercover intelligence agents even if their source is public or unclassified information. This section was opposed by every major journalistic and civil liberties organization and, to be sure, it raises serious problems. A survey for this article turned up more than 80 major books and news articles, the authors of which could arguably have been indicted under the law. (A representative sample would include *The New York Times*'s investigation of ex-CIA agents Wilson and Terpil; revelations that former CIA agents were involved in the Watergate break-in; accounts of illegal domestic spying by the CIA; and disclosures that an agency employee tried to infiltrate the House and Senate intelligence committees in 1980 at the direction of the KGB.) The conference report reconciling House and Senate versions of the bill, however, argued that journalists who identify agents in the course of normal reporting are not necessarily engaged in the requisite "pattern of activities intended to identify" agents and may not be covered by the bill. It called on the Justice Department to respect this interpretation.

Despite this ambiguous protection, the bill will no doubt discourage some news organizations from publishing some

information. But the more serious threat posed by the bill is to the *gathering* of information. It stems from sections of the measure, ignored by virtually all those who opposed it, that make it illegal for officials to reveal identities. For example, the new law will make it illegal for an official to tell a reporter asking about guerrilla activity in Guatemala to "go see So-and-so, he was station chief there." Such referrals are commonplace, and in the great majority of cases result in stories that do not name agents and have nothing to do with intelligence agencies. Imposing criminal sanctions on such routine assistance will clearly chill sources.

"That's the real danger of it," commented *Newsweek* reporter David C. Martin, whose book *Wilderness of Mirrors* describes the bitter counterintelligence disputes that have wracked America's intelligence community for decades. "I could never have done that book with that law in effect, because the last question you ask in any interview is, 'Who else should I talk to?'"

One sign that the legislation is explicitly aimed at chilling news sources was CIA Director William J. Casey's mercifully stillborn request that it be amended to permit surprise searches of newsrooms to identify officials who have violated its provisions. Casey's proposal, set forth in an April 29, 1981, letter to the chairman of the House Intelligence

A numbers game — with loophole

In the mid-1970s, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, *The New York Times*, *Rolling Stone*, and this magazine all examined in detail the relationship between the CIA and the press. They estimated that, during its thirty-year history, the CIA had had on its payroll some 30 to 100 U.S. journalists. Committee sources told *Rolling Stone* that if informal relationships were counted the total would reach as high as 400 and would include employees of nearly every major American media outlet.

In fact, the real figure was higher than the Senate committee realized, and similar relationships may continue today.

CIA documents released under the Freedom of Information Act in 1978 show that, although the agency made a conscientious effort to respond to the committee's request for information, a complete accounting of its past and current use of journalists proved impossible to make. The vast files of crucial components, including the Directorate for Operations (covert action) and the Office of Security, were indexed by name rather than broken down into subjects, such as Journalistic Assets. As an officer in one division complained, "Exact figures could be obtained only as a result of an exhaustive search." The agency also, at least in its initial survey of the subject, did not include "friendly contacts," a category that was not approved or recorded at headquarters.

In October 1975, then-CIA Director William Colby sent the Senate committee a still-classified list describing sixty-nine relationships between the agency and journalists, a CIA official said in a recent conversation. By February 1976 the number had been cut to fifty. According to the

Senate committee's final report, less than half of this final number of relationships had to be terminated under new guidelines, which Colby issued that month, that prohibited paid or contractual relationships with full-time or part-time journalists accredited by U.S. news organizations.

The key word was "accredited." The committee had found that the largest category of relationships was with stringers, free-lancers, and "itinerant authors." In November 1977, Stansfield Turner, the new director of the CIA, revised the prohibition to include stringers — but *not* unaccredited free-lancers. The revised guidelines also permitted the director to approve exceptions to the ban on using other journalists.

This exceptions clause and the use of free-lancers were extensively debated in hearings held by a House Intelligence subcommittee in late 1977 and 1978. Turner's position was that the waiver provision gave the CIA needed flexibility but "would be used only under the most extraordinary circumstances." The committee could either require a formal report of each exception or ask about them informally in the normal course of reviewing CIA activities. "I think that is just a matter of style," Turner concluded.

Two years later, style caught up with Turner. While testifying against a proposed Senate bill that would have written general CIA guidelines into law, Turner revealed that he had already waived the prohibition against use of journalists on three occasions, although he insisted that none of the waivers had been used. It was the first the House or Senate Intelligence committees had heard about it, though. "We were sort of piqued," a committee staff member recalled. In

committee, was to create a new exemption to a 1980 law which, in response to the Supreme Court's *Zurcher* decision, requires police to serve a subpoena before examining reporters' files for evidence of crimes committed by third parties.

CBS correspondent Ike Pappas recalls meeting Casey at a reception at the Greek Embassy last year and discussing the new director's views on press access to CIA information. "We got into a very active conversation," Pappas said. "Casey said, 'Who elected you to tell the American people what they should know? When we think they should know something we will tell you about it.' He was kind of hot that night." Casey, reached for comment, replied that the remark "doesn't sound like anything I would have said."

The CIA: a new brief on briefings

In March 1981 the CIA terminated its traditional practice of providing unclassified, not-for-attribution briefings on foreign events to reporters who request them. "When the new administration came in and looked at the use of manpower," CIA spokesman Dale Peterson explained, "the decision was made that we wouldn't continue them." A few journalists interviewed for this article did not regard this as a great loss; briefings, they said, usually could not be ar-

a letter to the agency, the House committee asked to be kept informed of any future exemptions. No such exemptions have been reported thus far, a source said.

The other major loose end left by the House hearings was whether to close the loophole for free-lancers. Turner and other officials successfully resisted this move, pleading the difficulty of defining the term "free-lancer." Should such a prohibition cover someone who "might write one or two articles, perhaps quite incidental to his normal profession?" one official asked. As Turner noted, "I probably even couldn't hold my own job under such a definition."

But the controversy over CIA influence on the objectivity and credibility of the news media cannot be closed so long as this loophole remains open. If the agency genuinely wants to avoid using free-lance journalists for cover, intelligence gathering, or propaganda purposes, it should amend its guidelines on secret relationships with the press so that the ban also applies to

any person who represents himself as a journalist or who at the time is primarily engaged in gathering or producing material for publication or broadcast.

This would meet the CIA's objection by defining a type of activity rather than a type of person. Under this regulation, an engineer who occasionally writes for *Science* could not use his writing as a cover for intelligence gathering, and a physician who sometimes writes about nuclear war could not publish an article in *The New York Times Magazine* at the direction of the agency, but both writers would be otherwise free to work as CIA agents or employees. J.P.

ranged on breaking news because the CIA's analysts were too busy keeping up with events themselves. But many more reporters said that the briefings had been valuable and that stopping them was an important change.

"I was briefed twice in my checkered career," recalled one reporter who asked not to be identified. He said the CIA briefings, in this case on Angola, were "much fuller and better, in the sense of being hard-nosed and not being ideologically biased toward one group or another," than similar sessions at the Pentagon or at the State Department ("bland").

Michael Getler of *The Washington Post* noted that access to the CIA was particularly valuable because, like the National Security Council staff, it is charged with taking into account the information and interests of many different agencies. He called the result "the closest thing you can get to an objective" account in the government.

The briefings were "really done, very truthfully, as a service," recalled Herbert Hetu, who resigned as director of the CIA's Office of Public Affairs after Casey downgraded the office in mid-1981. "The philosophy was that the country was spending a great deal of money" to gather "a great deal of information that was unclassified. We never gave away secrets."

The briefings were resumed last August — but with a catch. The agency now briefs reporters only if their views are of interest to CIA analysts or they are traveling abroad and are willing to be debriefed when they return. Dale Peterson insisted this should not reopen the controversy about the use of journalists for intelligence gathering. "We are very careful to avoid 'tasking'" reporters by asking them to obtain specific information, the CIA spokesman



"The CIA now briefs reporters only if their views are of interest to CIA analysts or they are traveling abroad and are willing to be debriefed when they return"

said. The exchange of views, he added, is also purely voluntary. "What we're trying to preclude," said Peterson, "is a reporter coming in here where it's all one-sided." But if the reporter refuses to be debriefed? "That obviously enters into the decision," Peterson replied. "Why should we give him a briefing?"

According to Peterson, most briefings are for general background and not for reporters about to travel overseas. In that sense, official relations between the CIA and the press have not been reduced to a bald quid pro quo. But they have been reduced — from 127 briefings in 1980, to 27 last year,

to 13 as of early May this year. "I used to take briefings on a whole bunch of subjects from the agency. . . . They were very good," said *New York Times* reporter Leslie H. Gelb. Under the new arrangement, Gelb said, "I just don't want to get involved."

Gerald F. Seib of *The Wall Street Journal* had similar reservations. Earlier this year he had scheduled a briefing on Central America, but the agency cancelled the meeting after Seib made clear that he had postponed a planned trip to the area. "They felt they should get something back," Seib said. "We discussed it [at the *Journal*] and decided we couldn't do any briefings under those conditions." Seib rescheduled the trip and the agency did eventually brief him without insisting that he agree to be debriefed. But if the CIA is relaxing its information policy it is doing so selectively, and many reporters say their requests continue to be turned down. (The agency, meanwhile, has not resumed publication, halted last year, of unclassified analytical studies, on subjects ranging from Soviet agriculture to international terrorism, which many journalists and scholars considered useful.)

The sound of doors closing

The CIA was always tough. Perhaps more disturbing is the loss of access to agencies that have traditionally been more open — State, Defense, and the National Security Council staff. On January 12 of this year, President Reagan issued a statement requiring all but the most senior officials to obtain advance approval before discussing "classified intelligence information" with reporters, and to prepare a memo immediately afterwards describing the conversation. This clearance and reporting requirement was rescinded in February, but the rest of the policy was left intact: in the event of leaks, the president warned, officials would be "subject to investigation, to include the use of all legal methods" — meaning polygraph tests and, possibly, wiretaps.

Asked how normal relations with the press could continue under the new guidelines, Reagan insisted at a news conference the next week, "What we're doing is simply abiding by existing law. It is against the law to — for those who are not authorized — to declassify, to release, classified information." A White House spokesman was later unable to say what law the president was referring to. This was not surprising, because the only disclosures of information to the press that are clearly illegal are those involving communications intelligence (e.g., electronic intercepts) and atomic energy information.

Former *New York Times* reporter Tad Szulc, now a Washington-based free-lancer covering foreign policy and intelligence issues, described the administration's attempt to limit contacts with reporters as "damaging to the normal operation of journalism in this town." Murrey Marder of *The Washington Post* put the point in stronger terms. "If you literally enforce a rule that you cannot talk about a classified matter in the field of foreign affairs, you cannot have reporting. The process becomes absolutely insane. It is an illusion [to believe] that you can distinguish between classified information and unclassified information and have any kind of intelligent discussion of foreign policy."

William Beecher, *The Boston Globe*'s diplomatic correspondent and a former deputy assistant secretary of defense, agreed that reporters must be able to talk to officials who have access to intelligence information and pointed out that this can be done without damaging national security. "Frequently, what's sensitive in intelligence reports is not the information but the source," he said. An official can discuss the substance of such reports "intelligently and accurately without saying, 'This is from our latest satellite take,'" Beecher concluded.

While a few reporters thought things were gradually returning to normal, nearly all those interviewed said that the leaks policy announced in January had caused a dramatic chill. "There's no question but that it's scared people, and those who tell you otherwise weren't getting much information to begin with," commented Leslie Gelb. The cumulative effect of the policies, he said, is that now reporters have to work "very, very hard" to cover the administration's foreign policy. This comment was heard time after time in other interviews.

"It used to be relatively easy to get people to think aloud on the phone," noted one *Newsweek* correspondent. He said that his calls to the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research often are not returned now and that one official had taken the precaution of calling from a pay



'One reporter characterized the NSA as "scared shitless" by the threat of lie detector tests. Another called the situation "more difficult than ever"'

telephone. "There is an element of fear very palpable here now," said Robert Pierpoint, who covers the State Department for CBS. "They constantly say, 'You better talk to the press office,' and the press office is useless."

"I called a guy at the Pentagon the day after [the leak policy was announced]," David Martin of *Newsweek* said. "He was just livid that I'd called him. He said, 'Haven't you read the papers?'" A *Times* reporter agreed: "Guys at the Defense Department say, 'The situation is serious here.'" Jack Anderson associate Dale Van Atta noted that the Pentagon is rumored to be "salting" computer-generated documents by varying numbers from one copy to the next in order to trace leaks. "I have lost a source through a lie detector," Van Atta added. "He was caught and said he couldn't talk to me anymore."

National Security Adviser William P. Clark has refused to grant interviews and has continued his predecessor Richard V. Allen's policy of routing all contacts with his staff through the press office. One reporter characterized the

staff as "scared shitless" by the threat of lie detector tests, a novelty at the previously accessible National Security Council staff. Another, more tactfully, called the situation "more difficult than ever before."

"The biggest problem is that right from the start the CIA and the NSC were basically put off limits," said Michael Getler of *The Washington Post*. "The two places we could go for on-the-record comments, the daily briefings at the State Department and the Pentagon, had become worthless. Spokesmen were limited to reading their guidance." The result, he said, was an unprecedented restriction of the ability of the press "to explain what was going on in some rather important areas. And it hasn't helped the administration, because it produced the impression that they don't have a foreign policy or that they haven't been able to explain it."

When the government leaks

That is the other half of the paradox, for on several issues the administration has taken positions that can be supported only by releasing classified information normally denied to the press. In the case of Libya, bizarre leaks took the place of rational debate in justifying the imposition of U.S. sanctions and the withdrawal of workers from the country despite their desire to stay. In the case of Central America, officials came to realize earlier this year that U.S. involvement there would come under increasing criticism unless they could persuade Congress and the public of the basic premise that conflicts in the region were being controlled by outside communist powers. They decided to mount a public relations campaign. It was a fiasco.

On March 2, Secretary of State Haig declared that the U.S. now had "overwhelming and irrefutable" evidence that the insurgency in El Salvador was being directed from outside the country by non-Salvadorans. Two days later Haig announced that the Salvadorans had captured a Nicaraguan "military man" who had been helping to direct guerrilla forces in their country. The man, apparently a student, escaped into the Mexican embassy. On March 9, CIA Deputy Director Bobby R. Inman hosted a rare press briefing at which declassified U-2 photos of Nicaraguan military installations were made public to show that Nicaragua was building up its armed forces, a fact no one doubted and which Nicaragua admits. Finally, a second "military man" was located in the person of José Tardencilla Espinosa. His charge on nationwide television that his earlier confession had been obtained through torture proved acutely embarrassing to the administration.

This public attempt to make its case having backfired, the administration turned to a more easily controlled method of disclosure: a leak of intelligence information so detailed that, according to an account in *The New York Times*, the CIA had previously refused a State Department request that it be made public. Three days after the Tardencilla episode, *Newsweek* reported that "the best evidence is coming from radio intercepts. Destroyers that have been stationed off the coast of Nicaragua since early this year have been able to pinpoint the location of several clandestine radios used by Salvadoran guerrillas and fix the location of their central

command post on the outskirts of Managua. The intercepts, still a closely guarded secret, show that the guerrillas report their positions and actions to Managua, which in turn sends details of impending arms deliveries."

It was quite a disclosure. "That caused some real flinching," one knowledgeable source said. "NSA has said they are hurt by the disclosures." Even so, congressional sources said in recent interviews, while the administration's evidence may show that Nicaragua is providing a base of operations and some logistical support, it does not show that the conflict is being controlled by non-Salvadorans.

Whatever else it was, the public relations campaign on Central America was a masterpiece of selectively used information. At the photo-intelligence briefing, for example, a government analyst addressed the central issue — whether the Nicaraguan arms build-up is defensive or offensive — by attempting the difficult task of deducing from photographs of a vacant airfield the use to which planes not yet there would be put. "These, of course, are not for the defense of Nicaragua," the analyst said. But alongside its coverage of the briefing the next day, *The Washington Post* reported that late last year the president had approved covert paramilitary operations against Nicaragua. This was clearly relevant to assessing the evidence presented at the briefing.

Reagan, however, was not particularly upset by the play of the covert-operations story received, it was reported, because it showed the Nicaraguans that he meant business. Indeed, the administration's sensitivity to leaks seems to vary according to political, rather than security, concerns. As far as could be learned, for example, no investigations have been undertaken to identify the sources of the covert-operations story or of disclosures of electronic intercepts — among the government's most sensitive sources of information — related to Qaddafi's threat against Reagan or to the content of communications with Salvadoran guerrillas.

On the other hand, investigations are known to have been initiated to identify the sources of two stories printed early this year in *The Washington Post*, neither of which involved classified information. The first appeared on January 8, when the *Post* reported that, according to a Joint Chiefs of Staff estimate, the force required by the administration's military strategy would cost up to \$750 billion — or 50 percent more — than planned. And on February 19 the *Post* described a State Department staff meeting at which Haig had called British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington a "duplicitous bastard" and made similarly frank remarks about other world leaders.

In the light of this peculiar pattern of vigilance, it may be wrong to characterize the administration as having an anti-leak policy at all. As David Martin of *Newsweek* observed: "When there's a political objective at stake, the leaking goes on undeterred. The only difference is that it's a little better organized."

It would seem, then, that the policies of the Reagan administration pose not a paradox involving lying but a riddle involving trust. The riddle is how reporters cut off from adequate information can know when to believe officials who say, "I am telling the truth."

Blazing silos!

Combine a surfeit of leaks about Soviet missiles with a dearth of digging—and look what you get

by ANDREW COCKBURN

The precise size and scope of Soviet military power is of particular importance now that the administration is embarked simultaneously on a massive arms buildup and on arms-reduction negotiations with the Russians. Unfortunately, almost all information about Soviet strength emanates from the intelligence agencies and reaches us via national security journalists. And, all too often, these journalists act merely as conduits for the information handed to them.

One inducement for not further investigating such information is that, since it has been garnered through the techniques of espionage, it is, of course, classified as "secret." And just as the act of classifying a piece of information implies that it is an important fact, so, too, the acquisition and publication of such "facts" implies commendable enterprise on the part of journalists. Accepting such information on faith, however, poses problems, as will be revealed by a close look at some of the news stories and columns that followed President Reagan's March 31 declaration that the Soviets "have a definite margin of superiority."

On April 1, the day after the president's news conference, Jack Anderson's syndicated column contained an item that appeared to offer convincing evidence of the underhanded methods the Soviets were prepared to use to obtain such superiority. Quoting freely from a CIA document, Anderson reported that the Soviets were scheming to secretly turn some of their SS-20 medium-range missiles currently targeted on Europe into longer-range missiles that could threaten the U.S. The column quoted the leaked report as indicating that the SS-20 has "an accuracy of about .02 nautical miles," can be fired at rapid intervals from the back of the truck that carries it around, and can be surreptitiously converted into an SS-16 without anyone being the wiser. This last point was the crux, because the Soviets had undertaken in the unratified SALT II treaty not to produce, test, or deploy the SS-16.

On April 3, the *New York Post* was more forthright. Quoting "U.S. officials," correspondent Niles Lathem reported that "three Soviet mobile missile regiments, each

Andrew Cockburn is a contributing editor of Defense Week, a weekly publication for defense specialists here and abroad. He is completing a book on the Soviet armed forces, to be published by Random House. This article is an expanded and more explicit version — Cockburn here names names — of an op-ed piece that appeared in the April 27 New York Times.

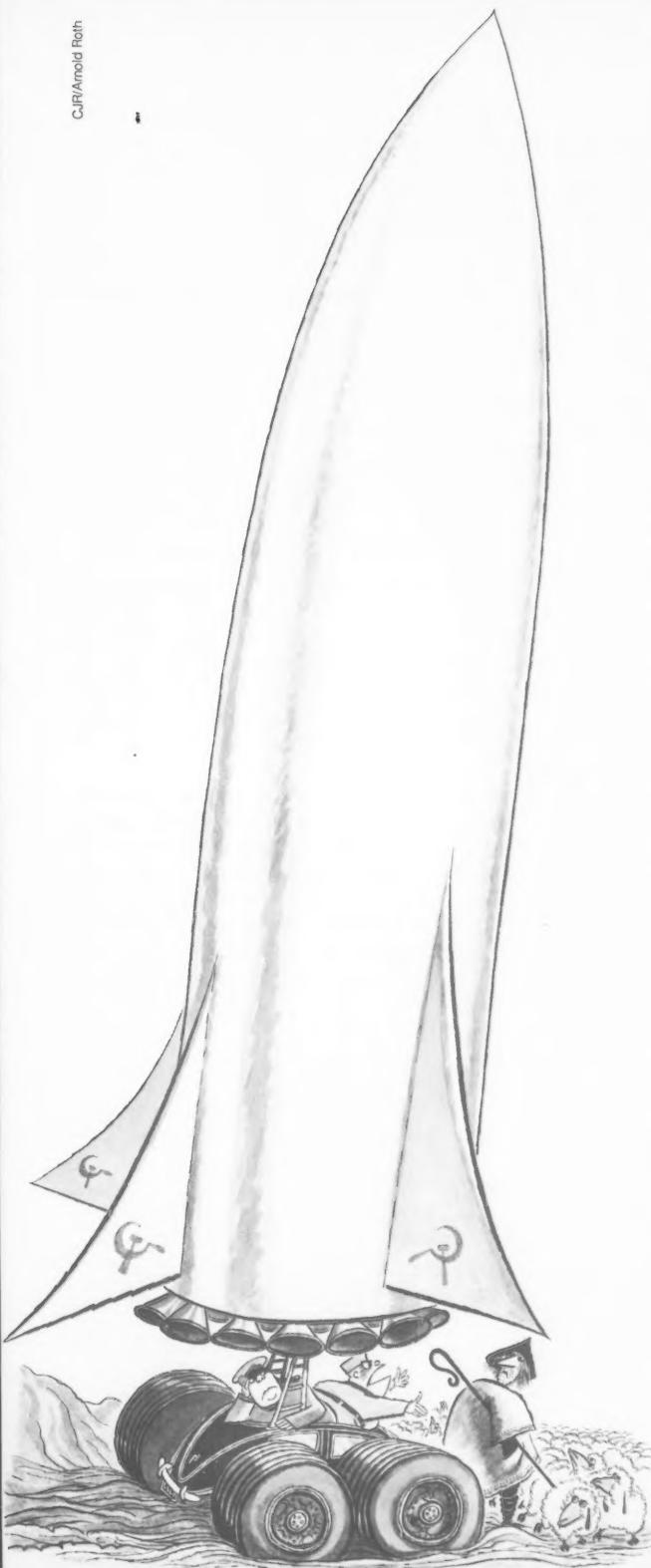
equipped with 12 nuclear-tipped SS-16 rockets, are poised in the frigid wastelands near Perm." Two days later syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak sprang into action with a report of a "still-secret consensus among U.S. intelligence agencies" that the Russians had deployed about 200 SS-16s at a place called Plesetsk in the northern Soviet Union. These "dread 6,000-nautical-mile missiles, housed in and fired from huge, wheeled vehicles capable of rapid movement," were, according to the columnists, "concealed under elaborate camouflage."

The following day Henry Trewitt followed up at a more stately pace in the *Baltimore Sun*. Although State Department spokesman Dean Fischer had almost given the game away by stating that "our intelligence information does not support these statements," Trewitt quoted unnamed officials as being "indignant at the denial" and reaffirming the basic truth of the Evans and Novak piece.

Michael Getler cast further doubt on these reports with a piece in the April 9 *Washington Post* in which he quoted "a top-ranking specialist" on these matters as describing the stories as "mostly garbage." But still the story did not go away. A month later, Daniel Southerland of *The Christian Science Monitor* quoted State Department officials on the subject of "'supersensitive' intelligence reports" relating to the ominous SS-16-related activities at Plesetsk, from which it appears that State had come into line after Fischer's denial. Clearly, someone was trying to tell us something.

A little history might have helped to throw some light on the matter. The SS-16 was yet another attempt by the Nadiradze Design Bureau to build a solid-fueled missile of the kind the U.S. has had since the Minuteman was introduced in the early 1960s. It was designed to have three stages and a single 500-kiloton warhead. The SS-20 is made up of two of those stages with a different guidance system and up to three warheads. As Strobe Talbott made clear in his book on the SALT II negotiations, *Endgame*, published in 1979, the Russians were only too happy to abandon the SS-16 at the SALT talks because it did not work very well. Talbott quotes a Pentagon expert as remarking derisively, "It was a dog of a missile — it was just no good, and it wasn't getting much better." But there was no hint of the missile's ill-starred past in the "supersensitive" handed down to journalists and passed on, unchallenged, to the public.

Evans and Novak, for example, were able to tap out the words "huge, wheeled vehicles capable of rapid movement" without pausing to reflect how fast such a vehicle, carrying a load of perhaps forty tons, might actually be able to go. Anderson — or, rather, his associate Dale Van Atta, who did the reporting on the missile story — was content to copy down a figure of .02 of a nautical mile without wondering how a missile might be able to fly 3,000 miles, the range of the SS-20, and still be able to land within forty yards of its target. In fact, not even the CIA pretends to believe this. The SS-20 is generally reported as having an accuracy of .20 of a nautical mile, or 400 yards, which is probably still a gross exaggeration. But Van Atta, my research indicates, was quoting from a 1980 CIA report that



misprinted the .20 figure as .02. Neither Anderson nor Van Atta questioned this figure because, after all, there it was in black and white on a secret intelligence document.

The assumption underlying all these reports is that the intelligence agencies *know* what is going on. As one reporter who has worked the national security beat for many years put it to me, "The press has no spy satellites, so we have to take a lot of these guys on trust." Journalists, however, would be well advised to keep in mind that the capabilities of satellites and modern espionage gadgetry are not all they're cracked up to be. From the authoritative manner in which information on the SS-20 is bandied about, it might be thought that U.S. analysts were privy to its innermost workings. Not so. They have never even seen one, because the secretive Soviets have never taken it out of its protective canister for the satellites to photograph it. Nor are the data on its alleged accuracy firm. Information on such matters is collected by monitoring stations in China and Turkey (Iran was another listening post) that listen to radio signals broadcast by the missile during test flights. But the SS-20 was tested in the north of Russia, well away from these stations, so it was difficult to pick up the signals, most of which were in code anyway.

It is possible to go beyond the intelligence agencies' covert news releases and adopt a "show-me" attitude toward the leakers. Michael Getler did something along those lines in his April 9 *Washington Post* piece. Another journalist who has displayed a commendably objective attitude is former Anderson associate Ron McRae (he left in April to finish a book). McRae has done better than most because, as a former Navy officer with intelligence duties, he knows that many of the classified "facts" retailed so readily by the press are, in fact, highly subjective judgments based on exiguous or ambiguous data.

The SS-20 story represents but one recent example of the press's willingness to accept intelligence assessments of Soviet capabilities on faith. There are, of course, many others. Last September, for instance, the Pentagon released a document called "Soviet Military Power" that purportedly drew on Defense and Central Intelligence Agency data to depict the fearful nature of the threat. The report did not go unchallenged, but the criticisms, such as those in a long assessment by Leslie H. Gelb in the September 27, 1981, *New York Times*, focused on the report's omissions rather than on the facts contained in it. No account that I read, Gelb's included, questioned such details as the 5,560-mile range attributed to the Soviet Backfire bomber, although *Air Force Magazine* had inadvertently given the only hard evidence of its maximum range as 4,690 miles back in March 1980. Nor did any account that I came across question the details given on Soviet developments in particle-beam weapons for use in space, although former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown dismissed the possibility of a usable particle-beam weapon in 1980.

The Reagan Defense Department is releasing even less objective on-the-record information about the strength of our Soviet adversaries than did the Carter Pentagon. So it seems that we shall be more reliant than ever on the classified leak. It is not a happy prospect. ■

A Daily News diary

by MARY ANN GIORDANO

Two weeks after the Chicago Tribune Company's December 18 announcement that the New York Daily News, the country's largest general readership paper, was up for sale, News reporter Mary Ann Giordano began keeping a diary, which she had received as a Christmas present. The following excerpts from her diary represent one person's reactions to a period of excruciating uncertainty that for four and one-half months consumed the lives of the paper's 3,800 employees.

Jan. 1: Covered the first murders of the New Year — seven so far today.

Jan. 5: Began working night rewrite, 3 to 11 P.M., after two days out sick. Got very depressed because of gloom-and-doom atmosphere about sale of paper. Hard to be optimistic.

Jan. 7: Some good news today: word from Chicago that it will be a while before this thing is resolved. This is the Tribune Company's first statement since they announced the sale, and copies of [president] Stanton Cook's statement were passed around the newsroom. Calmed everyone down, but also revived the rumor mill. Cook also said there are a few offers. Hooray! I cannot imagine the *Daily News* shutting down, but it is so tough to keep my optimism when everyone else thinks it is just a matter of time.

Several inquiries received in sale of News

Daily News, January 8

Jan. 8: *New York Post* ran a story saying Rev. Sun Myung Moon is interested in buying the *News*. This, of

course, was furiously denied by the *News* management.

Jan. 11: We keep reading things about us in other publications — *The Soho News*, *Village Voice*, *Advertising Age*. They seem delighted about the bad stuff going on here. To them, it's a foregone conclusion that we're dead. I am worried — enough to inspire me to pull up a typewriter at work and draft a new résumé and application cover letter. But I can't quite bring myself to go all the way with the job application process.

Jan. 12: Wherever I go the main topic of conversation is the *News*. Everyone wants to offer an opinion about why it is in trouble. I can't even call anyone on the phone for stories without having them ask about it. At night we have little to do but speculate, spread rumors, worry, and go over this thing over and over again.

There are plans afoot between a few of us to take some action. We have a scheme to place an ad about the *News*'s plight in a newspaper, just to wake up this city that its favorite paper may soon be gone.

Jan. 14: Closed on my mortgage for my new apartment. Hooray! It should be the happiest day for [husband] Rob and me, but at the back of our minds was concern: Will we be able to pay for this? Rumors are that January 30 is the closing date.

Worked very little on news stuff and concentrated all afternoon on a last-minute effort to organize a meeting to pursue the idea of fighting back. Left work at 8 for Costello's [a bar and restaurant], where about forty people showed up to sit around and complain about the *News*'s management.

There were some doomsayers, who are perfectly right in their assessment that newspapers are a dying business but who were finally boozed down by the rest

of us who asked, So what do we do, lie down and die? The decision was, we have to do something. The Committee to Save the Daily News is about to get active!

Jan. 19: Bad day. All the gloom got to me and I was terribly worried and depressed. My packet of résumés, clips, and such will go out tomorrow A.M.

Jan. 20: There's talk among the unions that we should "take our fate into our own hands" and buy the paper ourselves. My reaction is: they must be kidding.

Jan. 27: Closing of *The Philadelphia Bulletin* announced. Could it happen to us?

Jan. 28: I am beginning to feel like I am in a little box that keeps getting smaller and smaller. Have two impacted wisdom teeth that ache. Fought with Rob. I'm tired, worried about my job, worried about money, worried about the ad I am supposed to help put together for the Committee to Save the Daily News. Cried it all out at night with Rob.

Jan. 29: Looks like we will pass the rumored Jan. 30 deadline.

Jan. 30: Just as we were relaxing a bit [sports columnist] Dick Young announced he is bolting for the *Post*. We didn't need this.

Feb. 3: Still in a sodium Pentothal blur after getting my wisdom teeth pulled two days ago. On my way out to a press conference [reporter Don] Singleton drafted me to be interviewed with him on Channel 5. I made the 10 P.M. news. Maybe I do have a new career.

Feb. 4: The first full-scale meeting of the Committee to Save the Daily News was called tonight at St. Agnes's church. About 250 employees showed

Mary Ann Giordano has been working as a reporter at the New York Daily News since the winter of 1980.

up and about a dozen television stations and newspapers covered it. Singleton and [“View” section editor and Guild activist Paula] Bernstein spoke, then me. I had to talk about our ad. I was shaking and perspiring under those TV lights.

We have begun to collect money to put an ad in the *Times* that will raise the question, “No *Daily News*? Unthinkable.” The copy still needs work.

Went out drinking with the gang. At the time our meeting was going on in the church, a lot of people were being interviewed for ABC’s *Nightline* — to be aired at some future date. It is so funny — we have all gone from covering the news to making news, and I think most of us enjoy it. Too bad it is about such a sad subject.

TRIBUNE CO. IS ‘OPTIMISTIC’ ABOUT SALE OF DAILY NEWS

February 5

Feb. 5: Everybody is telling me they saw me on TV. Most people thought I looked and sounded good and everyone says I should pursue it as a possible career. I’ll think about it.

Stanton Cook released another state-

Feb. 4: Giordano at a meeting of the Committee to Save the *Daily News*



ment today, this time saying he’s “optimistic” about the outcome. He also referred to the employee stock-ownership plan that’s been proposed, saying it shows “strong employee loyalty.” Hah!

Talked to people at *Times* advertising, collected some money for our ad. We have about \$1,300 so far. At night, went to Costello’s, got bombed, had lots of fun.

Feb. 10: Hear that other people have heard about jobs — no positive answers yet, but some interviews. We’ve heard that [News editor Michael] O’Neill has called the other major area newspaper editors and asked them not to plunder his staff.

Feb. 16: I’m upset about the size of the ad we can get — two columns by five inches for \$2,000. It’s embarrassing and frustrating, considering all the work that has gone into this. Oh well, no matter what the size, I’ll place it tomorrow — before it’s too late.

Feb. 18: My two-year anniversary at the *Daily News*. Good God! What a horror! Woke up to get a letter from a paper I’d applied to that said simply, “Thanks for writing, but we have no openings.” I have been horribly depressed and this only made it worse.

Feb. 22: On week’s vacation, working on my new apartment, etc. Ad ran in the *Times* in a prominent position.

March 2: Back to work. Better day than I’ve had in a while, and about time too. Last night I woke up screaming.

March 11: Everyone feels the end will come on March 30. Our mood was not improved today when we read that Warner Communications had backed out. We’d been rooting for them. But other interested buyers came out today, including Joe Allbritton, Donald Trump [a prominent New York City developer], Arthur Levitt, Jr. [chairman of the American Stock Exchange], and John Dyson [a New York state politico]. Also, there are lots of rumors that various investors are raising money to start their own papers once the *Daily News* folds.

March 19: A fellow reporter is thinking of suing the Tribune Company for mental cruelty — a great idea!

Both [transportation editor] Dick Edmonds and [education editor] Sheryl McCarthy left this week for other jobs, and [weekend city editor] Steve Law-

rence will be going too. So far we have lost more than twenty people since the paper was put up for sale.

March 20: [State Senator] Roy Goodman has been holding hearings all week to focus attention on the *News* situation. He keeps asking, Where is [Mayor] Koch? It’s a question a lot of people have been asking.

News unions seeking escrow

March 29

March 29: We have a raise coming up in two days. Will we ever get it? Our union leaders want us to put our money in an escrow account for an employee stock-ownership plan. Most of my colleagues are dead set against it. [Editor’s note: *The Guild* was the only one of the paper’s eleven unions to vote against the plan.]

April 1: Trump has backed out, but it seems Allbritton has stepped in. He has a thirty-day option to buy. Thirty days for the deal to fall through, as I see it. My hunch is that of all the potential buyers he has the least chance of saving the *News*.

Allbritton buys News

April 2

Allbritton seeks \$85M cut

April 6

April 7: My prediction about Allbritton seems to be right — he’s asking for 40 percent cuts in all departments. The paper’s doomed. I just hope it ends soon.

April 8: Reacting to Allbritton’s high demands, some union leaders approached — of all people — Rupert Murdoch and asked him to buy us. Allbritton responded by breaking off negotiations. Such a joke. I give us three weeks.

April 12: Optimism is rising again. It seems Allbritton really wants the paper.



April 1: Staff members listening to the news that Allbritton will buy the paper

Talks resumed with some unions. I'm coming down with a cold.

April 13: Allbritton wants to convert Newspoint [the paper's color printing plant in Long Island City] into the printing plant for the *News*, which is a good idea. Also wants to close the Sunday magazine, which is smart dollar-wise but not so smart journalistically.

We all read *Time* magazine today — first hint we've gotten of the purchase terms. So far, Texas Joe has paid nothing, and probably never will. But what a situation: here we are in the middle of such upheaval and we have to read *Time* to find out what's going on!

April 16: Got breakdown of cuts Allbritton wants to see in our department. Total of 197 includes 48 reporters, 41 desk people, 17 copy editors, 20 people from photographic department. Lots of worried people.

Guild resists News 40% job slash

April 17

April 17: One week to go in the negotiations [Allbritton had set April 25

as the deadline for the unions, leaving himself the rest of the month to conclude the deal with the Tribune Company] and it doesn't look good. Said goodbye to [photographer] Mary DiBiase. She's off to get married — probably will never be back, the way things look.

April 19: Today seemed like a rerun of March and all its anxieties. Again, it has been more than seven weeks since I menstruated and there seems no logical reason for this. Last month I panicked; this time around I'm calmer. Went to my gynecologist and asked him why I'm going through menopause at twenty-five. He gave me an exam and told me my problem is probably stress.

April 20: Pregnancy test was negative. I just have to calm down. Easier said than done. Had nightmares last night about being laid off.

Office was in an uproar, with the so-called hit list about to be released and the Guild negotiations stalemated. On top of it all, I was assigned to cover the Guild negotiations. From 6 P.M. to midnight I sat reading *Rolling Stone* and the *News* in the posh offices of Allbritton's attorney. At 12:30 A.M. the session ended. The list of editorial people

Allbritton wants let go was released to Guild leaders but is being kept confidential. We'll have to wait until 2 P.M. Then each of us will have to call Guild headquarters to see if we're on the list. Everyone is on edge.

April 21: Assigned at the last minute to Rockland County to cover a development in the Brink's robbery case. While I was up there I got word that everyone was going crazy. People were lined up all across the newsroom trying to get on open lines to Guild headquarters. I called too late to find out if I'm on the list or not, but included on it are some very fine people. Apparently many of those active in the Guild and Black Caucus were singled out.

April 22: I am not on the hit list, but it's not much of a relief. The people who are on it are proof of the sickness of our management: three of the five members of the Guild's negotiating team, all excellent journalists, are on the list, and at least five active Black Caucus members.

The place was in an uproar again — everyone congregating in groups, very little work getting done. Things really fell apart when word came down that all talks had broken off. Another kick in the

groin when we heard that the typesetters' union had again called Murdoch in.

April 23: Rumors of the day were that armed guards were coming to prevent vandalism when the paper is shut down and that there would be an important announcement at 5 p.m. At about 5, hundreds of editorial people suddenly appeared at the city desk, where O'Neill just happened to be sitting. But there was no announcement. O'Neill beat a hasty retreat and everyone went back to work.

Deadline near in News sale

April 25

April 25: A wonderful day just because it was away from the *News*. Today was supposed to be the day Allbritton finalized his deal with the unions but they haven't met in days. [Reporter] Bella English called at mid-day and said Allbritton had asked Chicago for an extension — no idea how long — and Chicago hasn't replied. Oh, how I want it to be over! Everyone's life has been put on hold for too long.

April 26: Chicago gave Allbritton another five days — until May 5 — to close the deal. More time for us to worry.

April 27: A nice moment today — a nun wrote to tell us her order is praying for us and the *Daily News*. Her letter was posted on the bulletin board next to "Typesetting Jobs Available."

April 28: Once again the *Daily News* ruined my day. Walked up to building at about 2:15 and saw dozens of TV crews and radio people. "What's new?" I innocently asked. "They just want a reaction to the Tribune Company breaking off with Allbritton," someone said. I was astounded and, for the first time in the whole thing, I was furious. Do they think this is a game? Mock headline posted in the newsroom: CHICAGO TO JOE: NEVER MIND.

Tribune Co. ends News talks with Allbritton

April 29

April 29: Oh, Lord. Did I feel awful! Had the old alcohol overdose stomach all night, then a bad hangover. No news at all about the *News* — one of the calmest days so far. Now that Allbritton's out of it, tomorrow is the big day.

April 30: Spent the morning cleaning my apartment, dreaded going in to work, had no idea what was going to happen. Parked my car, then walked up to the building, which was surrounded by people, cameras, press. As I walked up, some reporters I know called out to me to ask my reaction. "What am I reacting to now?" I asked. Someone said, "The paper's going to stay alive. Chicago is keeping it." My immediate reaction was quick, intense anger. All this pain and worry and illness and we are back to December 17.

Apparently I wasn't alone in my reaction. The newsroom was somber. Those who had work did it; those who didn't quietly called friends and family to give them the news. There will be

cuts and I may very well go if it's done by seniority. But by evening I began to relax. We were even able to laugh about the situation. [Assistant managing editor] Dick Oliver, writing up the schedule of city desk stories for tomorrow's paper, summed up the Trib-decision story: "Tribbed, Trumped, Warnered, Joe'd, and Nearly Murdoch'd to Death, the Daily News Lives On!"

May 1: Headline today: WE'RE HERE TO STAY. I hope so. And on a page-two story about the Trib's rejection of Murdoch's last-minute offer: CHICAGO TO RUPERT: DROP DEAD.

First day in a long time I didn't mind going to work.

On May 18, there was a new development, summed up in headlines by the city's three dailies in the following manner: NEWS TO INVEST 92M (Daily News); DAILY NEWS WANTS A 25% CUT IN PAYROLL, AND OFFERS BUYOUT (The New York Times); and NEWS TO ZAP 1340 (New York Post). ■

April 30: The news this time — the Tribune Company will keep the paper



Clout: Murdoch's political Post

by MITCHELL STEPHENS

After years of scolding Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* for its excesses, most serious observers of journalism, along with many advertisers, now simply ignore the paper. Politicians, however, have taken a more realistic attitude. In fact, in a city that boasts both the respected *New York Times* and the *Daily News*, with its mammoth circulation, increasingly it is the *Post* that has government leaders fawning and fretting.

The explanation is simple: politicians, from candidates for district attorney to candidates for president, have learned that the *Post's* support will not be confined to its editorials. "The *New York Times* is perhaps the single most credible newspaper in the world," notes New York Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo. "But when they endorse you, you get one column on the editorial page. With Rupert, he turns the whole paper over to you."

As a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor, Cuomo was forced to play close attention to the *Post's* most recent, and most aggressive, political campaign. It began January 25, above the blurb for the paper's MILLION DOLLAR WINGO contest, and it jolted New York politics.

ED KOCH FOR GOVERNOR, the *Post* proclaimed, without bothering to label its front-page suggestion an editorial.

Mitchell Stephens teaches journalism at New York University and is the author of Broadcast News. Some of the research for this article was done in collaboration with Joshua E. Mills.

"The *Post* urges the Mayor to declare himself a candidate," the copy read. "If you agree, mail coupon on Page 3."

The *Post*, which ten days earlier had left Koch out of a discussion of eleven possible candidates, printed that coupon in its news pages every weekday for the next two weeks. The paper's news coverage immediately fell into line, forcing Koch's still undeclared candidacy into the consciousness of anyone who so much as glanced at a newsstand. Some headlines from that period: KOCH LIKES BEING CAUGHT IN DRAFT, ODDS IMPROVING ON KOCH FOR GOV., ED GETTING INTO GEAR, IT'S REAGAN VS KOCH ON BUDGET, ED HEARS FROM ANOTHER COUNTY, and APPLE LOVES KOCH & HE'S 2-1 DOWN ON THE FARM. On January 28, the *Post* printed a page 2 story in which twelve New Yorkers discussed the idea of their mayor running for governor. New Yorkers can't even agree on whether to fix up Central Park, but somehow all twelve quotes on Koch were positive.

On February 11, a smiling Koch was photographed behind the "mountain of mail" the *Post* said it had received urging him to run. Eleven days later he announced his candidacy for governor. (Koch appeared to slip a couple of days later when his disparaging comments about rural America — "It's a joke!" — from a just-published *Playboy* interview made front-page headlines in other newspapers across the state. The *Post* did its best the next day to offset the impression that its candidate was an incurable urban smart aleck with its own

front-page quote from the fifty-seven-year-old bachelor mayor: KOCH: I'D LIKE TO HAVE KIDS.)

How important was the *Post's* coupon campaign in the mayor's decision to run for governor? "Not important at all," Koch maintains. But whether or not the *Post* pushed him into the race, it certainly got his campaign off to a fast start. Ask Mario Cuomo, who saw himself fall from the favorite for the nomination to a distant second to Koch.

"The *Post* became what amounted to a political pamphlet for thirty days," Cuomo says. "That has to be important. The small political community that controls the early stages of every campaign is disproportionately influenced by something like the *Post* campaign; they read everything."

Rupert Murdoch first fashioned the *Post* into a political weapon in 1977, the year after he bought the paper. Ed Koch was the beneficiary that time too, and Mario Cuomo one of the victims.

A review of the early editions of the *Post* during the 1977 mayoral primary turned up no unfavorable stories about Koch from the day the paper endorsed him for mayor — in a front-page editorial — to the day of the vote. Other candidates for the nomination, on the other hand, had to read headlines like this: THE BLONDE MILLIONAIRE WHOSE BIG BUCKS BACK CUOMO. Over that four-week period, there were four front-page headlines mentioning Koch's name favorably; the other six Demo-

cratic candidates — among them Cuomo and the incumbent, Mayor Abraham Beame — were mentioned on the front page in favorable headlines a total of once. Koch received thirty-two inches of favorable coverage on pages 2-5, the other seven candidates a combined total of thirty-five inches, during the period.

Koch was considered a liberal when the *Post* first endorsed him in 1977. Today he defines himself as a "centrist." Some critics argue that Murdoch's endorsements are based more on a candidate's chances than on a candidate's politics. But whether the explanation is ideology or pragmatism, Murdoch, too, seems to have moved steadily to the right. He first made waves in Australia through his papers' wholehearted support of the Labor Party in the 1972 elections. Murdoch is given, and accepts, a significant share of the credit for Gough Whitlam's election as Labor's first prime minister in twenty-three years. But he turned on Whitlam and the liberal Labor Party and helped oust them in 1975. With few exceptions, he has sided with their more conservative opponents ever since. In Britain, in recent years his papers have backed the conservative Tory government of Margaret Thatcher.

The modus operandi established at the *Post* in 1977 brings to mind the methods of William Loeb, the late publisher of the Manchester, New Hampshire, *Union Leader*, whose uninhibited use of his paper's news columns to influence national elections was repeatedly chronicled by reporters chasing presidential candidates through his state. In 1980 the *Post*, with a circulation perhaps ten times as large as the *Union Leader's*, also had a go at national politics, supporting Ronald Reagan with a zeal that would doubtless have impressed even Loeb.

Post staffers report that Murdoch ran that campaign himself, occasionally even peeking over their shoulders in the city room as they worked. Here are some of the headlines the publisher and his staff came up with:

■ REAGAN: I'LL SAVE THE MIDDLE CLASS. This scoop, proclaimed in red at the top of the front page, was pulled out of an exclusive interview with the candidate (October 18).

■ ISRAEL FEARS CARTER VICTORY. The article referred to by this front-page headline included no quotes from any Israeli, named or unnamed, supporting this charge (October 21).

■ DR. BROTHERS PEERS INTO HER CRYSTAL BALL ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE. The pop psychologist endorsed Reagan — on page 4 (October 24).

■ STARS WANT RON TO GET THE PART. No stars supporting Carter were quoted in the article on page 4 (October 25).

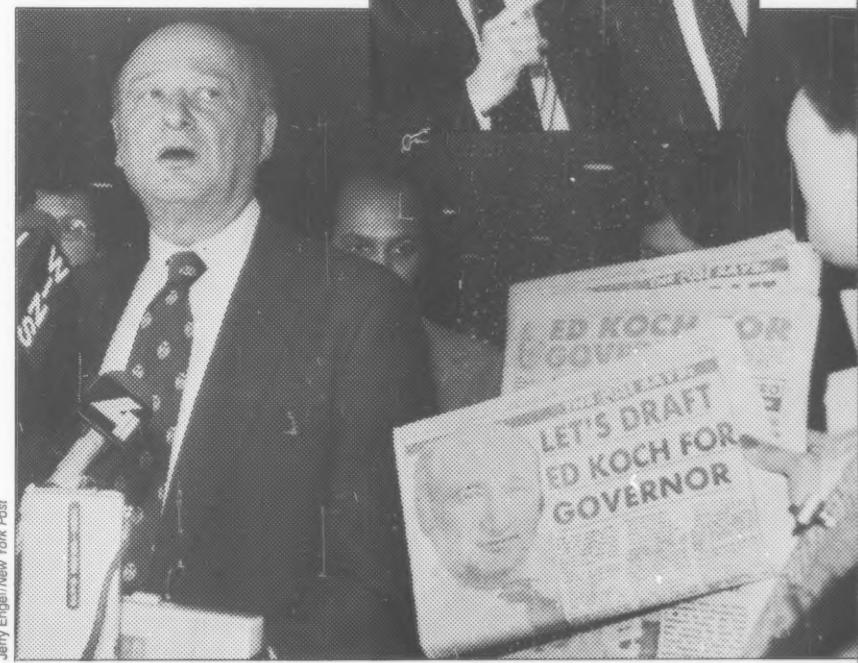
■ 14 YEARS & HE DOESN'T LOOK A DAY OLDER. An old and a new (soft-focus) picture of Reagan were compared on the top of page 5 (October 28).

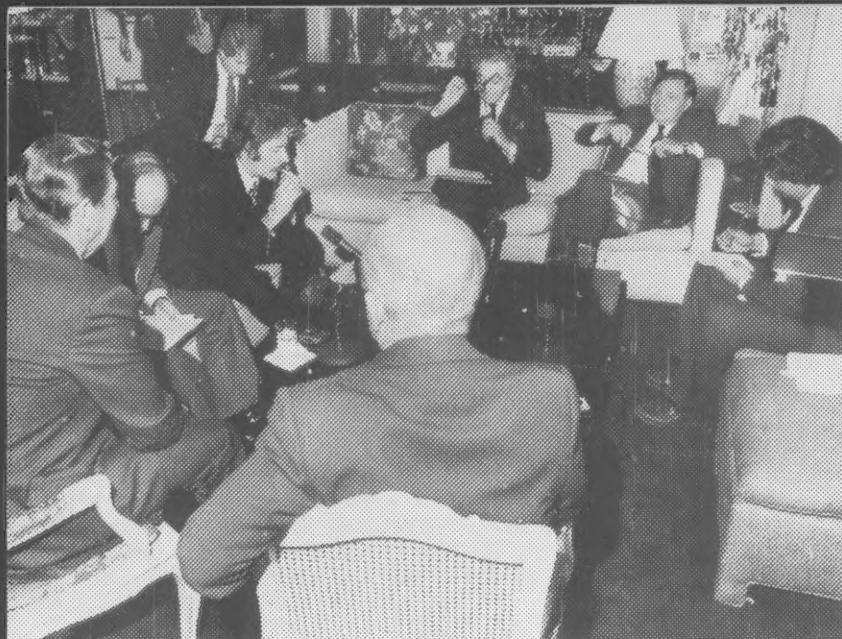
■ KHOMEINI PULLS THE STRINGS — and then, in smaller type, CARTER BACK ON CAMPAIGN TRAIL. This intriguing pairing of thoughts covered two-thirds of the front page on the day before the election (November 3).

"Covering politics in the *New York Post* is like working in a guerrilla war," complains one of the paper's reporters. "When they take a liking to a candidate, it's no holds barred." Some reporters say they have seen their stories chopped to eliminate balancing quotes from the "other" candidate; some report that new, clearly slanted leads have been added to stories after they were submitted. Stories that cannot be adjusted, they say, may simply be killed.

According to these reporters, Murdoch's point man in the city room is metropolitan editor Steve Dunleavy. Koch needed little help with his reelection last year, so during the primary Murdoch and Dunleavy concentrated their fire on an old target — Elizabeth Holtzman, who was running for Brooklyn district attorney. One *Post* staffer recalls hearing Dunleavy on the phone to

Posting the news: Back from a vacation in Spain, New York's Mayor Koch gets a coming-home present from publisher Rupert Murdoch. Inset: Koch and Murdoch celebrate Koch's 1981 mayoral triumph at a post-election breakfast thrown by Murdoch.





Louis C. Letta/New York Post

Quid pro quo: Ronald Reagan, for whom the Post went all-out in 1980, sat down with Post editors and reporters last March at the New York Hilton for an exclusive interview. Among those present: metropolitan editor Steve Dunleavy (at left, with mustache), said to be Murdoch's point man in the city room, and executive editor Roger Wood (end seat on the couch). The man on Reagan's right (back to camera) is Joey Adams, who turns out a joke column for the Post and is an old pal of the president's.

the man handling the press for Holtzman's opponent, Norman Rosen: "You could hear him say, 'What have you got for me today, mate?' And whatever he got would be in the headline and at the top of that day's story. He would get copyboys and aspiring reporters to do the special stories no one else would do — the rewriting of Rosen press releases." When asked about these charges, Dunleavy labeled them amusing, but untrue.

However that may be, an examination of the news pages of the *Post* from August 1 to the primary on September 22, using library microfilm files, revealed fifteen headlines favorable to Murdoch's man, Norman Rosen (ROSEN TELLS LIZZIE: COME OUT IN OPEN); only two could be seen as favorable to Holtzman. This differed from other Murdoch-Dunleavy campaigns only in its result: Holtzman won the nomination.

Murdoch admits to losing millions each year on the *Post*, and so long as the *Daily News* stays in business those losses promise to continue. Yet the Australian publisher seems content to pay the price for the influence his paper has brought him in America. He may have

failed to block Holtzman in Brooklyn, but in less than six years he has helped elect the mayor of New York; he has nominated that mayor to be the next governor of the state; and he has had a hand in electing the president of the United States.

Writing in *Esquire* in 1979, Chris Welles quoted Murdoch as having said

'Covering politics in the New York Post is like working in a guerrilla war. When they take a liking to a candidate, it's no holds barred'

of an Australian government, "I elected them. And, incidentally, I'm not too happy with them. I may remove them." There is no record of Murdoch's having spoken so boldly of his power in New York, but American politicians know with whom they are dealing.

President Reagan managed to squeeze an exclusive interview with *Post* editors into a visit to New York this spring. White House staffers can name few newspapers that have been similarly favored. And when the *Post* sponsored a political breakfast the morning after last year's local elections, all the major winners — including Elizabeth Holtzman — found the time to attend and, in the words of a reporter who was present, "pay homage to Murdoch."

"They are all afraid of the *Post*," remarks a City Hall reporter for another paper. "Everybody remembers what happened to Gough Whitlam."

Since Murdoch, Dunleavy, and other key *Post* people are Australian, some reporters label the paper's skewed political coverage, with perhaps a touch of xenophobia, "Australian journalism." "It certainly is characteristic of Sydney afternoon newspapers," observes John Edwards, Washington reporter for Australia's news magazine, the *Bulletin*. "But it's also characteristic of some Fleet Street newspapers and even of U.S. journalism forty years ago, before this present respectable period."

Murdoch's *New York Post* can, in fact, be seen as a throwback to an earlier, less inhibited era in American journalism, when such newspapermen as Horace Greeley, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst were willing to put their news columns at the service of their political beliefs. And a quick look through some back issues shows that as late as 1944 the respected New York tabloid *PM* ran a front-page headline not unlike the *Post*'s on Koch: HOW YOU CAN HELP RE-ELECT FDR.

But there were ten other dailies in New York when *PM* was pushing Roosevelt, more when Greeley, Pulitzer, and Hearst were active. London and Sydney today still offer readers a relatively wide choice of daily newspapers and, presumably, a wide selection of points of view.

The point is that, as the number of dailies here has shrunk, this has become a country where readers place a certain amount of faith in the fairness of those newspapers that remain. Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*, which now boasts the fourth largest circulation of any local daily in the United States, regularly betrays that faith. ■

Central America: A tale of three countries

by MICHAEL MASSING

In March, Michael Massing, executive editor of the Review, visited Central America with a delegation of journalists to examine the state of press freedom and the security of journalists. The delegation also included Gloria Emerson, a former New York Times correspondent; Jonathan Larsen, senior editor of Life magazine; Randolph Ryan, an editorial writer at The Boston Globe; George Watson, a vice president of ABC News; and Allen Weinstein, executive editor of The Washington Quarterly. The visit was sponsored by the Committee To Protect Journalists, of which Massing is co-director. The following is an account of the ten-day visit.

Our delegation arrived in Managua on March 20, five days after the Nicaraguan government had imposed a thirty-day state of emergency restricting civil liberties and placing the armed forces on a state of alert. The country was facing threats from all sides — raids from neighboring Honduras; exiles training in Florida and California; acts of sabotage within the country; C.I.A. destabilization plans. Nonetheless, on our first full day, a Sunday, the capital — a sleepy city of 600,000 spread along the shores of Lake Managua — seemed relaxed. Some reservists from the country's 70,000-person militia held training exercises, but half the city's male population, it seemed, was playing baseball, the country's most popular sport.

The emergency was having a much greater impact on what Nicaraguans could read and listen to. Until March 15, the news media had operated under a national communications law that prohibited publication of certain types of news relating to national security and economic stability; it was applied arbitrarily and often severely, but it did allow considerable latitude. Now, for the first time since the triumph of the

revolution in July 1979, newspapers were subject to prior government censorship, and all radio and TV news was broadcast exclusively by the government four times a day.

The government claimed such controls were necessary to prevent the dissemination of information on sabotage, defense measures, and other matters that might sap morale or compromise security. Opponents of the government, on the other hand, saw the emergency as a Sandinista tactic to consolidate the par-

ty's power and, perhaps most important, to suppress displeasing news. Though brief, our stay in Nicaragua, filled with meetings with journalists, clergy, businessmen, politicians, and government officials, left the unmistakable impression that the Nicaraguan revolution was reaching its denouement, and that the press was at the center of events.

As always, *La Prensa*, the nation's oldest and largest newspaper, was in the thick of things. Its harsh criticism of the Sandinistas since the revolution had re-

LA PRENSA
DÉCIMO DEL PERIODICO NACIONAL
C\$3.00 10 PÁGINAS
APERTURAS: 100
ANEXOS: 100
Militares jóvenes se rebelan contra corrupción
Cae Lucas en Guatemala
FMLN propone la paz
Madre e hija mueren ahogadas
Se fue Castañeda
La Boquita', un balneario abierto al visitante

Emergency:
Since March 15, La Prensa has gone to the censor several times a day. "They look at every word," says editor Pedro Chamorro.

sulted in its being closed by the government five times for two or three days at a time (plus another self-imposed closing after a *La Prensa* guard fired into an angry crowd). Now, with the imposition of prior censorship, the battle lines were even more firmly drawn. In the view of the coalition of political, religious, and business leaders opposing the government, *La Prensa* upholds the torch of freedom; to extinguish it would be to snuff out liberty in Nicaragua. To the Sandinistas, the paper is inaccurate, irresponsible, and acutely slanted, a mouthpiece for the country's most retrograde elements; they liken it to Chile's *El Mercurio*, which received U.S. funds while beating the drum against Allende.

When not locked in combat with the government, *La Prensa* is usually squaring off against the country's two other dailies: *El Nuevo Diario* ("A New Journalism for the New Man"), which is independent of the government but strongly supports it; and *Barricada*, the official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Circulation figures are followed closely as yardsticks of political allegiance among the country's educated classes; at the moment, *La Prensa* claims 75,000 and *Barricada* and *El Nuevo Diario* about 40,000 each — an indication, perhaps, of the country's current political stalemate. The keenness of their competition has not been dulled by the fact that all three papers in this country of 2.7 million are run by members of the same family — the brothers Pedro Joaquín and Carlos Fernando Chamorro, who direct *La Prensa* and *Barricada*, respectively, and their uncle, Xavier Chamorro, who runs *El Nuevo Diario*. (See "The Junta and the Press: A Family Affair," CJR, March/April 1981.)

"Here there are journalists who are with the revolution and journalists who are against it," observed Danilo Aguirre, managing editor of *El Nuevo Diario*. Those in the latter category "believe we should bring back the former economic and social system — one of dependency," he explained, speaking with a cadence that gave the impression he was addressing a much larger audience.

After praising the government's human rights record, Aguirre, one of

Nicaragua's most prominent journalists, lit into *La Prensa*: "If you want to explore the human rights of our people, you should look at the pages of *La Prensa*." While printing numerous articles calculated to alarm businessmen, he said curtly, *La Prensa* would "not publish even an inch" on such matters as government land grants to peasants as part of its agrarian reform program, or on a U.N. seminar held in Managua on worldwide racial discrimination.

Only when asked about the current state of emergency did Aguirre appear uncomfortable. Though a staunch ally of the government, his own paper had been shut for twenty-four hours at the start of the emergency period for describing it in a headline as a "state of siege," a term the government felt improperly recalled Somoza's harsh crackdowns. "We working at *Nuevo Diario* are not in agreement with the sanctions, either historically or legally," he said. "But we understand the need for the decree."

One evening we dined with Alfonso Robelo, a former member of the ruling junta who, since resigning from it in April 1980, had become the leading opposition politician in the country. We met in a fancy restaurant that has been operated by its workers since the owners gave it to them after the revolution. The food was excellent, but the place was empty. Robelo, a husky man who sports a trim beard, began by stating that the imposition of the emergency was a "logical" move, given the country's dire situation; he described its actual provisions, however, as "unnecessary, excessive, and illogical," an invitation to panic. The chief sin of the press sanctions, he said, was the way they had made the newspapers "boring, like in communist countries." In place of prior censorship, Robelo said, he would have advocated specific guidelines spelling out sensitive areas, like sabotage, requiring prior government consultation.

We asked him about *La Prensa*. "It is fair to say," he replied, that "*La Prensa* is not the paragon it was before the split" in April 1980, when a majority of the paper's staff, disturbed by *La Prensa*'s growing hostility to the Sandinistas, left to start *El Nuevo Diario*. He went on to say that *La Prensa* "has a lot of inaccuracies. It avoids being objective in its news."

He quickly added, however, that *La Prensa*'s two competitors were equally guilty of shoddy journalism. *El Nuevo Diario*, he said somewhat bitterly, "is really dirty." Nor was *Barricada* above mudslinging, though he added that generally the Sandinista paper was "more serious" than *El Nuevo Diario* and "fairly accurate" in its reporting of local news.

To the barricades

Barricada's orientation is announced in its lobby, which glows with the bright, mural-like portraits of Augusto César Sandino and other Sandinista *comandantes*. Carlos Fernando Chamorro, who at twenty-six has been editor of *Barricada* since November 1979, opened the discussion by describing the type of revolutionary journalism he was trying to create for the paper. "We have a public that is very young, with a low level of education," he observed, noting that many of *Barricada*'s readers were recent graduates of the government's literacy campaign, which he said had reduced the illiteracy rate from 50 to 11 percent in two years. With them in mind, the paper has adopted several novel practices, such as bumping sensational crime off its traditional place on the front page and initiating a consumer column which investigates complaints about public services.

Language was much on Chamorro's mind. He said he was seeking a proper voice for the paper, in order for it to serve as both an official organ and a source of news. "You might find the language in our paper very politicized," he said, his tone deliberate, almost contemplative. "We have been working for a year trying to avoid it." A look at recent editions revealed that *Barricada* generally managed to avoid the rhetorical excesses common to party publications, although it was full of cheerleading for Sandinista achievements (VACCINATION: ANOTHER SUCCESS! proclaimed a typical headline) and exhortations to patriotic vigilance.

The conversation inevitably turned to *La Prensa*. "I have absolutely no problem with keeping *La Prensa* open, if it maintains an independent, patriotic position," Chamorro said. "It's not a question of whether a newspaper has a right to dissent, but of when it goes

beyond that [patriotic] line." As an example, he cited a *La Prensa* story that had described paramilitary squads training abroad for a possible invasion as "armed opposition groups"; such a label, he said, lending legitimacy to "counterrevolutionary groups," could not be tolerated.

Pedro Chamorro, Carlos's thirty-one-year-old brother, spoke with us the next afternoon in an office filled with *La Prensa* memorabilia, including many photos of his father, who ran the paper until he was assassinated by *somocistas* in 1978. It was soon apparent that we had not come at the best time, as the hubbub of that day's edition constantly threatened to carry the young editor off from our meeting. *La Prensa*, he told us, "is now going to the censor several times a day, causing the paper not to come out until 4 P.M., instead of 2 P.M.," the normal time. That day's editorial page, he said, had already been sent for inspection three times, despite the fact that it contained no editorials, which are banned during the emergency period. "They look at every word," Chamorro said with a quick laugh of disbelief.

The censor had handed down some harsh verdicts. Among the items banned without explanation from that day's edition were an analytical piece headlined THE MUTUAL DISTRUST OF THE SUPER-POWERS, a photo of children playing among the charred remains of a bus destroyed by guerrillas in El Salvador, and a letter to the editor about protecting the country's wildlife.

Asked about the charges of inaccuracy, Chamorro, now quite animated, replied: "Of course, there are problems of accuracy in any paper. But we are much more accurate than *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario*." In each of the closings of the paper, he said, *La Prensa* could back up its reports; in fact, the paper has printed a detailed seven-page document defending its performance. Furthermore, he said, "despite the campaigns against *La Prensa*, our circulation has increased by 50 percent since the founding of *Nuevo Diario*." The reason: *La Prensa*'s "information and political line." (Sandinistas claim that the increase is largely a byproduct of the government's literacy campaign.)

As to the future, Chamorro said, "In

the long run, I have to admit the tendency is toward extinction of freedom of the press. I don't dare say we'll be here for years — even months." Then, more hopefully: "I have faith we'll survive. We have survived destruction [a reference to Somoza's bombing of *La Prensa*'s plant]; we can survive this."

If, as many claim, the emergency decree was directed principally at *La Prensa*, it was effective, to judge from the look of the front page of that day's edition. The page was relatively restrained, with an emphasis on regional news — the coup in Guatemala, a peace proposal from El Salvador's guerrillas, the scheduling of a U.N. meeting on Nicaragua's charges against the U.S. There was little hint of the high-decibel, anti-Sandinista articles that had appeared regularly prior to the emergency.

Since the revolution, the Nicaraguan press has served as a battleground for the country's future. Which is why the initiation of prior censorship has caused such alarm. Few of the Nicaraguans we met denied the need for some type of emergency response to threats from the U.S.; many did, however, question the harshness of the government's response. They hope it will back off if the Reagan

administration tempers its bellicosity. Otherwise, one of Central America's liveliest presses could become one of its dullest.

San Salvador was tense when we arrived, four days before the March 28 election. Trucks filled with soldiers rumbled off to engagements in the suburbs. Helicopters buzzed across the city. Members of the crack Atlacatl brigade, a counterinsurgency unit generally limited to action in the countryside, patrolled the capital's streets.

For journalists, it was the best of times and the worst of times. The election story was irresistible, and more than 700 correspondents had been lured by it. But certain grim ground rules had been set for them. A week before our arrival, four Dutch journalists were shot dead by soldiers. A death list was issued containing the names of thirty-four reporters and the press officer of the U.S. Embassy. Reporters venturing into rebel zones were fired on by troops.

Despite everything we'd heard and read before coming, none of us was prepared for the depth of animosity against the foreign press corps in El Salvador.

Chilling event: One of the four Dutch journalists killed in El Salvador



Anne Nelson

We got a vivid display of it on a visit to the Commerce and Industry Chamber of El Salvador, a powerful trade organization counting among its members some of the country's wealthiest industrialists. We met with a half-dozen of them in the chamber's heavily guarded headquarters. One chamber member took a huge revolver from his belt before sitting down and placed it on a table to the side.

"We read *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*," began one of the businessmen, speaking in English with evident agitation. "This isn't journalism. People are coming here only to tell a story that will provoke people into reading it." He continued: "We have suffered a lot. We used to have a good line of credit from banks in the U.S. But, due to what the journalists have done to people in the U.S. and Europe, nobody trusts us. Now we have to have material in advance to get credit." In short, journalists "have harmed our reputation."

The next hour was stormy, with the chamber members passionately claiming that correspondents were responsible for many of El Salvador's problems, and members of our group replying that it was not journalists who had been responsible for the tens of thousands of killings that had marred the country's image abroad. Neither side gave much ground. At the end of the session, the businessmen, most of whom supported Roberto d'Aubuisson and other extreme right-wing candidates, called on U.S. journalists to tell the "real" story about El Salvador — how badly it was suffering from guerrilla violence and from the policies of President Duarte, who, they said, was selling out the country to the left.

That view, especially the antagonism to Duarte, was prevalent in most of El Salvador's newspapers in the days preceding the election. Generally studiously non-political, the papers featured harsh attacks on the president and his Christian Democratic party, a reflection of the fact that all the papers are owned by members of the Salvadoran oligarchy whose politics range from moderate right to ultra right. The papers, sad-looking tabloids all, are highly profitable, to judge from their contents — a few rudimentary pages of news, a section of social notes, and many pages

of ads. Though the government can censor the papers under a state of siege imposed in March 1980, it has rarely had to exercise that option, since, as one Salvadoran reporter put it, editors "practice self-censorship that is greater than even what the government wants."

Death and defiance

Among the few acknowledgements in the press of the brutality engulfing the country are blurry one-column mug shots identified by captions beginning "Disappeared" or "Victim," and accompanied by a short paragraph giving a few details and asking for information. So inferior is the quality of El Salvador's papers, says one wire-service correspondent, that he considers Radio Venceremos, the guerrilla station, the country's most dependable source of news.

Those who defy the rules often have to pay a steep price. *La Crónica del Pueblo*, a small daily, was closed in July 1980 after its editor and a photographer were abducted and hacked to death with machetes. In January 1981, the army destroyed the offices of another small paper, *El Independiente*, which often ran ads from left-wing groups; its editor, Jorge Pinto, was forced to take asylum with his family in the Mexican Embassy. (Pinto now lives in Mexico City; four of his former employees have been held in prison since the paper's closing.) The Catholic Church's radio station has been dynamited six times, forcing it to close for long periods. In all, twenty-two journalists (not including the four Dutchmen) have been killed in other than combat circumstances; many more have been wounded, threatened, or assaulted.

Such a situation compels submission — and breeds courage. "There are only two types of journalists, those who receive pay from the government and oligarchy, and those who seek to give out the facts," one Salvadoran journalist said. "Here, to be committed to journalism means to be labeled a communist." It also means, he added, exposure to "constant vigilance" — telephone tapping, threats, official monitoring of stories, all of which he had personally experienced. Faced with such risks, why continue to work in the country? "I owe it to my profession,"



Dead journalist, dead paper: In August 1980, El Salvador's *El Independiente* paid front-page homage to Mexican correspondent Ignacio Rodríguez, killed while covering a battle. Six months later, *El Independiente* itself fell victim to an army attack.

he replied. "I owe it to my people. And so I'm going to stay until the end. I'm in the service of the truth. The press in this country does not bomb, take people out of their houses, burn buses. It only informs."

Small acts assume large dimensions. *El Mundo*, an afternoon tabloid with a circulation of 58,000, is the only paper in the country that accepts paid announcements from unions, professional associations, and the Church-operated Human Rights Commission, which has been subject to army harassment. The day we arrived in El Salvador, March 24, was the second anniversary of the death of Archbishop Romero, and *El Mundo* was filled with pages of ads from groups memorializing him. Accepting such announcements has forced the paper to operate amid rumors that it will be shut down. Meanwhile, it continues to serve, however modestly, as the sole mass outlet for dissident voices.

Two days before the election, we met with Roberto d'Aubuisson in his heavily armed headquarters. Several days before, his Arena party had broadcast a campaign ad criticizing *New York Times* reporter Warren Hoge by name; more generally, his supporters had taken to chanting "Tell the truth" whenever a reporter came near. In El Salvador's

lawless climate, such developments seemed destined to result in a violent incident. When we expressed our concern about journalists' security, however, d'Aubuisson misinterpreted our point — so conveniently that I can only believe he did it intentionally. Yes, he told us, he, too, was worried lest guerrillas kidnap a journalist as part of their effort to disrupt the elections; he hastened to reassure us that his bodyguards "have been given instructions to stay with journalists" throughout campaign rallies, which, given the party's reputation, was hardly a comforting thought. In the course of our half-hour meeting, d'Aubuisson did agree that, if elected, he would pledge to respect the rights and security of journalists — possibly a meaningless concession, but one that at least put him on record on the subject.

Invited for cocktails at the residence of U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton, we arrived soon after dark at his large, heavily guarded house, located in one of the capital's wealthier neighborhoods. We found the ambassador on the terrace of his walled-in courtyard, reading a document and sipping a drink. A large, blue swimming pool shone brilliantly behind him.

Asked about the state of press freedom in El Salvador, Hinton replied a bit testily: "No one has said they've had any complaints about freedom of the press. All the papers are free to attack the government — the Christian Democrats. They do it day in, day out. There's a large amount of paid advertising for guerrilla groups and their sympathizers. True, professionally, it's not very good; they'll distort quotes. But is it free to publish what it wants to publish? Sure. There is no censorship. For a country engaged in a widespread conflict, I think the press is incredibly free."

We brought up a number of cases. On the subject of *La Crónica del Pueblo* and *El Independiente*, Hinton said that these had openly advocated revolution. On the deaths of the Dutchmen: "War correspondents run risks. They ran a risk. It's a rough country." On the case of John Sullivan, a U.S. free-lance writer who disappeared the day he arrived in the country in December 1980, presumably having been abducted by right-wing elements, and who is now the

only U.S. citizen missing in El Salvador: "We've investigated every single lead. . . . A disproportionate amount of resources of the American Embassy have been put on this case." After two rounds of drinks, we left.

The March 23 coup in Guatemala occurred five days before our scheduled arrival there. Did the new three-man military junta represent a genuine improvement over the regime of General Romeo Lucas García, whose four years in power had taken an estimated 30,000 lives? Or was it simply a rearranging of the furniture?

I figured it would not take long to get some indication, since the airport in Guatemala City is notorious among foreign correspondents, some of whom have been turned back there. (See "Killing Off the News in Guatemala," CJR, January/February 1982.) In fact, my bags were given only the most cursory check, and in two minutes our delegation — now reduced to three members — was through customs.

We quickly discovered jubilation everywhere over the fall of Lucas García, and journalists were among those most hopeful that the government of General Efraín Ríos Montt would honor its pledge to respect human rights, civil liberties, and freedom of the press.

Since 1978, journalists had been subjected to a concerted campaign by the government to harass, threaten, bribe, bomb, and assassinate the Guatemalan press into submission. More than forty journalists and other employees of news organizations had been killed or had "disappeared." The victims included some of the most prominent journalists in the country; last February, for instance, the editor of *La Nación*, one of the country's major newspapers, was machine-gunned to death, and the paper closed indefinitely. Radio was particularly hard hit; as the primary means of communication in the countryside, it has played a role in politicizing the country's 3.5 million Indians, and as a result has been violently attacked by such paramilitary groups as the Secret Anti-communist Army. Official ruthlessness has driven more than forty Guatemalan journalists from the country; they recently founded the Association of Democratic Guatemalan Journalists, with a leadership outside the country and a clandestine coordinating body within.

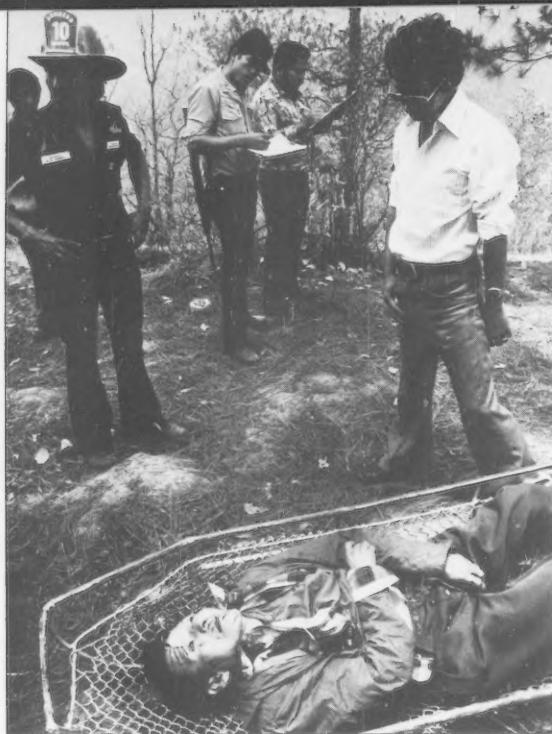
The ham of the sandwich

Guatemala's biggest papers resemble their Salvadoran counterparts in their ad-heavy, news-slim content, but they have cannily devised ways to communicate sensitive information. For instance,

Banner day: Guatemalans rejoice over the March 23 coup d'état



Robert Nickleberg/Woodfin Camp



A grim story continues: Journalists traveled to Quiché province a month after the Guatemala coup to report on the discovery of corpses there. The new government has pledged respect for human rights and press freedom, but the outlook is dim on both counts.

Jean-Marie Simon

they have commonly printed graphic photos of mutilated bodies; and, to hint at the perpetrators, captions have sometimes noted that the bodies were found so many meters from a certain police station. "If you know how to read it," I was told by one U.S. visitor who regularly reads Guatemalan papers, "the Guatemalan press is one of the most informative in Central America."

To what degree was such subterfuge necessary under the new government? In the hope of finding out, we visited *Diario El Gráfico*, one of the country's two biggest papers, with a circulation of 56,000. The paper's recently constructed office building was sumptuously appointed; the elegant executive suite on the top floor had a bar, a billiard table, and an impressive collection of tapestries, paintings, and primitive sculpture. In such surroundings, it was easy to forget that in 1979 twenty armed men had tried to invade *El Gráfico*'s offices, and that since then several of its staff members had been killed.

"The repression was very strong" during Lucas García's presidency, said a top editor, who described how the paper had come under attack from both right-wing death squads and guerrilla groups. "We feared both the left and the right," he said. "We were the ham of the sandwich." The editor was encour-

aged by the initial signals coming from the new junta: "We are more relaxed now. There already exists a broader scope in which we can work as a newspaper." He noted that *El Gráfico*'s editor, Jorge Carpio Nicolle, had begun signing his name to editorials for the first time in four years; during Lucas García's term, he had considered it too dangerous to do so. But it became clear that the fear had not been completely laid to rest when, at the end of the interview, our host asked us not to use his name. "We still don't really know what's going to happen," he said as he showed us to the door.

An editor at another publication (who also cannot be identified) was more pessimistic. While he too had rejoiced over Lucas García's fall, he said, "People are kidding themselves if they think anything's been solved." The violence could well abate in the capital, he explained, if only because there were so few potential troublemakers left to kill. At the same time, he warned, the guerrilla insurgency had not abated, nor had the extreme polarization of Guatemalan society lessened.

Journalism has been seriously affected by that polarization. "This is war," we were told by Pedro Julio García, publisher of *Prensa Libre*, the country's other large daily, whose

editor, Alvaro Contreras, was kidnapped in March by a guerrilla group and is still missing. "There is no such thing as impartiality. So many newspapermen are political militants. They are not only sympathetic to the guerrillas, but work with them, so it is no surprise when some of these people. . . ." The sentence trailed off as García raised his hands in a dismissive gesture.

One night we gathered in a room in our hotel, one of Guatemala City's most luxurious, to watch a film. It was of poor quality; in fact, a print of it had never been made, and we had to watch the eerily reversed black-and-white images of the negative. It began with a shot of members of the Communications Workers' Union (SIMCOS) demonstrating in front of *El Gráfico* for the reinstatement of several workers who had been fired for union activities. Soon the police arrived and began clubbing the protesters, who broke into a run, stopping only to throw stones. The policemen then opened fire, and bodies began to fall. The film, which lasted only a few minutes, left me stunned.

With the water running in the bathroom to frustrate any electronic listening devices, the projectionist, a Guatemalan in his thirties, explained that he had shot the film with a telephoto lens in 1979. He is an official of SIMCOS, which is composed of journalists, photographers, cameramen, pressmen, and radio broadcasters. The film, he said, depicted the conditions in which the union had to work during the Lucas García years. By the end of 1980, after numerous attacks on its members, SIMCOS had gone underground. Today, he said, the union operated clandestinely with about half the 380 members it had had at its high point. They periodically meet in secret to discuss labor strategy.

Guatemala's wounds are deep. Almost every family, it seems, has lost someone close. And every news organization has lost employees — to exile, to the hills, to the death squads. As a Guatemalan journalist in exile told us in Managua, "We are a generation of journalists who don't know anything about freedom of the press or democracy." Like other Guatemalan journalists in exile, he will be following events closely to see if he will be able to return. So far, few have. ■

Subject: suicide

A personal memo on the Golden Gate Bridge and a topic that 'turns people off'

by STAN AUGARTEN

In 1977, a good friend of mine, Marc Salinger, the twenty-nine-year-old son of Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy's press secretary, leaped to his death from the Golden Gate Bridge. Marc was bridge suicide number 587; the total of confirmed Golden Gate suicides now stands at 730, with another 301, their bodies never found, listed as possible deaths. Marc and I had shared an apartment in Manhattan in 1972, when we were both reporters for The Associated Press. He was a handsome and intelligent man who seemed to have much to live for. When I moved to San Francisco a few months after his death, I looked in on Marc's relatives in the hope of learning why he had taken his life. One thing led to another, and I soon found myself in the offices of the Golden Gate Bridge, examining its voluminous files on bridge suicides.

Those files included plans drawn up in 1970 for a proposed suicide barrier — an eight-foot-high steel fence that had been designed by a local engineering firm under contract with the bridge administration. The barrier, which would replace a totally ineffective waist-high fence, seemed like an excellent, not to mention a morally imperative, idea to me. Its spindly shape blended in well with the span; and, being difficult to climb, it would undoubtedly cut down on the number of jumpers (unless they brought along climbing gear). But the barrier was rejected by the bridge directors, chiefly on financial, aesthetic, and psychological grounds. It would cost more than a million dollars and, in the eyes of the directors, mar the architectural purity of a national landmark. Moreover, it was not unclimbable, and

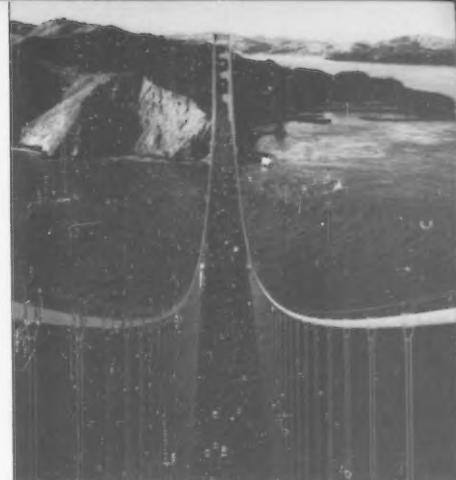
Stan Augarten, a former AP reporter, writes for magazines and is a part-time newswriter for KTVU-TV in Oakland, California.

those who didn't make it over the top might find another way to terminate their lives.

But it seemed to me that the arguments in favor of a barrier were much weightier than the directors' demurrs. According to many psychologists, the Golden Gate Bridge has become a "suicide magnet," a focal point for the despair of many individuals and their desire for self-annihilation in public ("I'll show them!"). The installation of an effective barrier, these experts say, will not only discourage most jumpers from even attempting the leap, but will also stop many of them from ending their lives elsewhere; blowing one's brains out in one's home doesn't have the same psychological allure as leaping from the country's most famous bridge and making the papers. So I decided to write an article on suicide in the Bay Area, a piece that, using Marc's demise as a starting point, would explore the politics of suicide prevention.

queried several local magazines: *New West*, which is now *California* magazine; *San Francisco*; and *California Living*, the Sunday magazine of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner*. All my queries were rejected. In their professionally pithy way, the editors explained that while they thought the subject of suicide important, even interesting, it was also unrelievedly depressing. Too depressing for their readers. So I turned to television. As a part-time news writer for an Oakland station, I have connections in the business. I tried to interest the Bay Area stations in doing documentaries or news reports on one or another aspect of the problem. Once again I was rebuffed. At the *Chronicle*-owned KRON, the NBC affiliate, the head of the news department's investigative team dismissed the idea as much too morbid and sexless for the evening news. At KQED, the PBS affiliate and supposedly the local station with the greatest sense of social responsibility, the programming director called the subject of suicide "bad programming." And so on.

A pattern was clear. Suicide is an



issue that the Bay Area media, like society in general, prefer to avoid. It's not commercial enough. It's not sexy. It turns people off. If people want to do themselves in, why stop them? Local media coverage of suicide is almost exclusively limited to little stories on who killed themselves and how, on who was number 600 and who 700, and on the good samaritans who, out for a stroll on the bridge one sunny afternoon, pulled a jumper back from the brink. These stories tend to obscure the nature of the Bay Area suicide problem. And it's quite a problem. With a yearly average of 32 suicides per 100,000 residents, San Francisco has one of the highest rates of self-destruction in the country; the city's rate is almost three times that of the northeastern United States.

Yet that rate, together with the fact that the Golden Gate Bridge is a veritable suicide shrine — the most popular jumping-off point to oblivion in the Western World — fazes few journalists in the Bay Area. Some TV stations, in editorials that are models of ignorance and narrow-mindedness, have even spoken out against the construction of a bridge barrier. One of the most telling comments on the treatment of suicide by local news media came in a recent article in the *Chronicle*. The story gave a fairly complete discussion of California's and San Francisco's suicide problems. But it wasn't written by a *Chronicle* staffer or local free-lancer; it was written by a *Washington Post* reporter in Los Angeles, and transmitted by the *Post* news service. The *Post* apparently has a finer eye for the dark side of the California psyche than most editors in the land of fun and sun. ■

UNFIT FOR THE CJR?

The Columbia Journalism Review has taken to task those critics of our media who have charged that journalists have been telling our enemies' side of the story in conflicts in which the United States has been engaged abroad. The *CJR* contrasts media coverage of Vietnam where both sides were given a hearing with coverage of World War II which it says has been described by some historians as "supine and propagandistic."

It reminds us that the American press is dedicated to an objectivity which permits it to be "a close observer of events without participating in them."

But even if a reporter does not participate in events he may, nevertheless, influence them. And in time of war, especially one that is prolonged, journalists, whether they intend it or not, may play a decisive role in the outcome.

As long ago as the fourth century B.C., the Chinese scholar, Sun Tsu, pointed out that there are far better ways of making war on your enemies than fighting with military weapons. It was far better, he said, to subdue the enemy without fighting, and this could be accomplished by exacerbating the existing divisions within the enemy country, undermining popular confidence in its leaders, and subjecting its traditions to ridicule.

The validity of Sun Tsu's advice has been understood by all great military and political leaders throughout history. In every modern war, through World War II, both sides endeavored to use whatever technological means were available to influence the thinking of both the troops and the civilians in the enemy country with the goal of weakening their resolve to carry on the war. The basic message was their cause was unjust and hopeless and that the cost to the people was excessive.

That message has a strong appeal when the burden of the battle is heavy in terms of loss of life, destruction of property, food shortages, and all the suffering associated with war. If the suffering is prolonged, the outcome may depend on which side has the greatest success in spreading defeatism and weakening the resolve of the foe. It is obvious that if one side can obtain free access to the mass media of its enemy, while keeping its own media invulnerable, its chances of victory will be greatly enhanced.

That should have been the great lesson we learned from the Vietnam War. Robert Elegant has described it as the first war in history that was decided primarily on the pages of our newspapers and news magazines and on our television screens. James Reston has written that historians may record that it was the reporters and the cameramen who forced the withdrawal of American power from Indochina. Obviously, a fourth-rate country such as North Vietnam did not have the military power to defeat the United States. Its leaders have boasted that their stunning victory was achieved by the clever exploitation of Western media.

For example, one of the turning points of the Vietnam War was the Tet offensive launched in January 1968. This was a Vietcong desperation drive to win a decisive military victory by a simultaneous attack on 32 cities in South Vietnam. They were repulsed with devastating losses, but in our media it was portrayed as a defeat for our side. Our victory on the field of battle was transmuted into a morale-shattering defeat by journalists who simply got the story wrong and who, in many cases, refused subsequently to set the record straight. Some who will read these words are probably still under the illusion that Tet was a defeat for us.

Some may argue that we don't deserve to win a war if we cannot convince our own people in a free debate with our foes that we must bear any burden and pay any price to achieve our objectives. This is a beguiling but naive argument.

The world has been menaced by two great malignant cancers in the past fifty years. We successfully excised the cancer of Nazism by a tremendously costly operation known as World War II. The reporting of our media was certainly supportive of our efforts to exterminate the cancer of Hitlerism. The press deserves a lot of credit for alerting us to the danger and for sustaining our morale during a long and costly struggle. Would those who criticize the press for having been unabashedly pro-American and anti-Nazi prefer to have seen World War II end up like Vietnam, with Hitler triumphant?

The cancer of communism is no less malignant than the cancer of Hitlerism, and its metastasis has proceeded at an alarming rate since the end of World War II. It quickly spread over Eastern Europe and China. It jumped to Cuba and then Indochina. The cancer cells have now appeared in Central America and Africa. We have watched its spread with horror and foreboding. We have resorted to heroic measures—economic, diplomatic and military to contain it, with indifferent success. We know that millions of lives and the values and institutions that we treasure are at risk. Measured by the stakes, the struggle against this cancer is of titanic proportions.

The outcome is of great importance to all of us, and not least to the journalists. Freedom of the media is universally one of the first victims of this cancer. One would therefore think that journalists would be in the forefront of the effort to contain or cure it. The *CJR* seems to think that in this struggle journalists should conduct themselves something like the laboratory scientist who observes the growth of tumors in his lab animals and records their progress with cold objectivity. But nothing the scientist does helps spread cancer to human victims who would not otherwise fall victim to it. This is not true of the neutral journalist, as millions of Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians would attest.

The great allies of the cancer of communism are weakened resolve, self-doubt, and uncertainty in the ranks of those threatened by it. The cancer would like us to think that it is benign, or even that it is good for us. There was that famous *New York Times* headline of April 13, 1975, which read: "Indochina Without Americans: For Most, A Better Life." Ironically it was datelined Phnom Penh, Cambodia. For the next three years, while the cancer ravaged Cambodia, our "objective" reporters remained strangely silent for the most part. They were reluctant to face the fact that their "objectivity" toward the cancer helped bring about the worst genocide of the postwar period.

Reed Irvine suggested to the editor of the *CJR* that, in the interest of permitting both sides to be told, he run an article responding to the editorial, "A Political Press." The editor said he would consider such an article by Mr. Irvine. He suggested a few changes in the first version, which were made. He then informed Mr. Irvine that he and his colleagues had decided against running the article because they did not find it sufficiently fresh or persuasive for the readers of the *CJR*. What do you think? Write to Reed Irvine, Accuracy In Media, 1341 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

BOOKS

MacNeil's report

The Right Place at the Right Time

by Robert MacNeil
Little, Brown. 320 pp. \$13.95

by NEIL HICKEY

Says Robert MacNeil: ". . . I can't keep the secret. Being a journalist, a reporter, is simply wonderful." Read this book and you'll know why he feels that way. The co-host of public television's *MacNeil/Lehrer Report* has had, so far,

Neil Hickey is New York bureau chief for TV Guide.

a ripping good career (he's still a boyish fifty-one) that started more than thirty years ago when he served time as an all-night disc jockey in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Since then, his professional life has touched most of the world's major news stories, from the Suez crisis and the Hungarian revolution of 1956 (he was a deskman at Reuters in London then) right up to yesterday's headlines, which he and partner Jim Lehrer labor to illuminate each weekday evening on their award-winning news analysis program.

The book is aptly titled: it's a richly

detailed and rollicking good job of picaresque storytelling by a reporter afflicted with a particularly virulent case of trenchcoitis. Here he is in Tangier's Casbah as a greenhorn Reuters legman, reveling in that "little tickle of danger" and imagining "a curved Moroccan dagger insinuating itself between my shoulder blades." Then it's off to the Congo for NBC to cover the civil strife surrounding that nation's painful progress to peaceful independence. He is in Berlin in August 1961 on the very day the East Germans close the border against the West ("To be there, at this



CJR/Harvey Wang

moment, was incredible luck"), and manages to get into the Eastern sector, where he is arrested briefly by the Volkspolizei. Then on to Paris and Algiers (with a side trip to Devil's Island) for the crisis of French withdrawal from Algeria. After a few jaunts to Finland to make TV documentaries about the Cold War, he is suddenly in Havana during the Cuban missile crisis (having arrived there via Mexico City on his Canadian passport); he is arrested and confined for nine days, then flies to New York to relate his Cuban adventure on the *Today* show.

There's plenty more. MacNeil covered the civil rights movement in the South and then moved to the White House beat for NBC in July 1963, just four months before President Kennedy's assassination. In a rather endearing confessional moment, he recalls that the first time he asked Kennedy a question "I found myself blushing like a choirboy and shaky with stage fright. Would he think my question too stupid to answer? No other public figure ever intimidated me like that." MacNeil's chapter on the assassination in Dallas on November 22, 1963, has a fine narrative drive that makes it worth the scrutiny of both aspiring and working journalists: How does a reporter focus his mind as an explosive, unpredicted, bewildering news story unfolds all around him? MacNeil recalls leaping from the press bus and thinking, "How do I cover this? Where should I be? . . . Part of my brain went to sleep in disbelief. My thoughts came in slow motion, like tired legs dragging up too many stairs. Uttering the sentences I did to NBC from Parkland Hospital was like squeezing toothpaste out of a tube that has hardened; the normal, relatively facile flow of words was cut off. Something was blocked." But report the story he did, and later he returned to the grassy knoll, near the spot where the president was murdered, and "sat there in the sunshine with the tears running out of my eyes; aware of how much the salt in them burned because crying was such an unaccustomed thing to do."

One tantalizing footnote to MacNeil's Dallas coverage: after jumping from the press bus, he raced into the Texas Book

Depotory in search of a telephone, and learned from a departing man where he could find one. The evidence indicates (and William Manchester in *The Death of a President* corroborates it) that the person MacNeil encountered was Lee Harvey Oswald.

While covering the Johnson presidency, MacNeil grew disillusioned with the way his own medium was handling the Vietnam War. He had the mounting conviction that the real meaning of the war was being hidden from Americans as a result of television's obsession with battle pictures, its distorting brevity, and its "profound lack of thoughtful analysis." The journalistic values applied to the war were amoral and empty, he is sure, not because of any conspiracy to deceive, but because television "passes everything through a bland taste filter." Vietnam, he concludes, "was what was wrong with American television and how I earned my living."

In 1971, after leaving NBC for the BBC, MacNeil found himself the focus of a lively controversy when he took a leave of absence from his London job to cover the 1972 elections for American public television. He and Sander Vanocur — who were paid \$65,000 and \$85,000 respectively — were perceived by President Nixon to be "liberals" and thus hostile to his administration. Clay T. Whitehead, Nixon's director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, orchestrated a campaign to discredit the two reporters, to plant the notion that such high salaries should never be paid out of public funds, and (as Whitehead stated it in a November 24, 1971 memorandum to H. R. Haldeman, Nixon's chief aide) to threaten that "their obvious liberal bias would reflect adversely on public television." MacNeil and Vanocur survived the assault, but Nixon vetoed the public television funding bill — five days after the Watergate break-in. (A bill with lower funding levels was subsequently passed.) In a sense, MacNeil had the last laugh: he and Jim Lehrer were the anchormen for the Senate Watergate hearings that led to Nixon's early departure from the White House.

And now, in this memoir, MacNeil brazenly marches out of the closet and confirms Nixon's most nightmarish speculations about him. He is now, and has been for many years a (gasp!) "liberal," he confesses. Instinctively, he finds it more satisfying to belong with those people in all countries "who put their trust in Man's best quality, his rational intellect and its ability to recognize and solve problems." Liberalism and conservatism both have their extremes, he allows, but taken in moderation he prefers the "liberal impulse," which he sees as the engine behind the great forces — Christianity, for example — that have advanced mankind. He's pretty certain that Jesus Christ was no political conservative, "whatever views are espoused in his name today."

Early in his book, MacNeil pauses for a meditation on the nature of television news. So apt are his conclusions that I hereby recommend they be committed to a parchment scroll and copies sent to all television newsrooms and schools of journalism. "In most of the stories television cares to cover, there is always 'the right bit,' the most violent, the most bloody, the most pathetic, the most tragic, the most wonderful, the most awful moment. Getting the effective 'bit' is what television news is all about. . . . And to what purpose are thousands of men and women scrambling over the earth, sometimes at great risk, to get that bit? So that millions of people may be distracted for a moment from their own domestic concerns to witness another human being in great distress? To feel what? A moment of compassion? A second of titillation? A wisp of vicarious fear?

"Does it not ultimately blunt and cheapen all those natural feelings to have them so often artificially stimulated? Does it not make human pity itself a banality? Does that not force competitive television producers to turn the screw a trifle harder each time to make the sensation fresher, to unbanalize it? Yes.

"And what is the ultimate purpose of all this activity? The television journalists . . . want to tell stories. The networks want to sell deodorant.

"And that's the way it is."

Scrutable news

Japanese Journalists and Their World
by Young C. Kim
University Press of Virginia. 226 pp. \$15

by RICHARD HALLORAN

In the most revealing passage of an otherwise disappointing book, the author quotes a former political reporter in Japan as saying that the press club at the headquarters of the ruling Liberal Democratic party was like a "brothel." The Japanese journalist went on to say that any reporter newly assigned to cover the party headquarters was as "excited over the work as if he were a high-class prostitute."

Richard Halloran, who wrote a master's thesis on the history of the Japanese press, was a correspondent in Japan for nine years. He now covers military affairs in Washington for The New York Times.

For Japanese journalists, those are strong words from a colleague. And he is not alone. The author, Young C. Kim, a professor of political science at George Washington University, cites several such observations to describe the symbiotic and often venal relationship between journalists and politicians in Japan. He concludes, rather dryly, that among members of the Japanese press, "Anger at corruption in the political world or a vision of a more desirable future [is] evidently not among the high-priority expectations."

But if in such parts of his book Kim performs a useful service in examining some of the fundamental flaws of Japanese political reporting, in too many other places he slips into what seems to be an apologetic tone. He says, for instance, that "to write more than superficial stories, it is essential that a reporter be accepted by his news source as friendly, loyal, and trustworthy." To

avoid being shut out, "the political reporter is under pressure to develop intimate ties with his target. And for this reason, the reporter is vulnerable to the pressure, enticements, rewards, and punishments by the politician."

While this may only reflect the author's effort to show what Japanese reporters are up against, he goes on to make the astounding statement that the offer of gifts "must be viewed not so much as an attempt to corrupt the reporter"; rather, the acceptance of money, lavish entertainment, and merchandise "signifies that the reporter will abide by the unwritten rule of conduct and that he will not intentionally damage his patron."

"To share a certain secret — giving and taking a gift — tends to solidify a trusting personal relationship between the two," Professor Kim explains. "Rejection of such gifts would jeopardize a reporter's standing in the eyes of the



CJP/Donna Moody

politician whom he is supposed to cover." In plain English, that comes dangerously close to saying that bribery is okay.

Beyond his questionable defense of Japanese journalistic ethics, Professor Kim's account is further weakened by a curious failure to place Japanese press practices in the context of the country's history. Japanese newspapers are direct descendants of English and American papers, but in the course of their assimilation into Japanese society during the last 130 years they naturally developed a character of their own. In the most recent period, Japanese journalists have been shaped by the searing experience of World War II, by the ensuing American occupation, and by Japan's resurgence and search for national identity since then.

Today, the Japanese daily press is an element in the establishment that governs Japan. It is both a channel of communication and an active force seeking to influence conservative politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, and intellectuals along with a handful of socialists, labor leaders, and leftists in the estab-

lishment. The daily press, which is more powerful than television in Japan, is led by five national papers that blanket Japan from one end to the other. Added to these are several regional papers and a local paper in nearly every prefecture, or state. They all reflect Japanese society, not least in their practice of offering lifetime employment.

A key institution binding journalists to politicians and business leaders is the press club, the most distinctive feature of Japanese journalism, but one that Professor Kim fails to examine. The press clubs are not social organizations but associations of reporters from the wire services, newspapers, and television networks who are attached to government ministries, political parties, business associations, labor unions, and almost every other institution of any size. For the most part, reporters from weekly and monthly magazines, freelancers, and foreign correspondents or Japanese representing foreign publications are excluded. Each press club determines who will cover what within its jurisdiction and controls the flow of news by deciding what questions will be

asked and what information will be released. They are, in effect, censors for the nation. They also resemble the feudal domains that once were the basic political units of Japan, in which leaders provided protection in return for fealty from followers. In the case of the press

**'The acceptance of gifts
signifies that
the reporter will abide by
the unwritten rule
of conduct
and not intentionally
damage his patron'**

clubs, politicians, in return for fawning publicity, provide exclusive rights to news. In that atmosphere, the cozy relationships described by Professor Kim flourish.

Perhaps most disappointing is the author's failure to dig into the role of the press, or lack thereof, in the resignation

Weather watch

In Television: The Medium and Its Manners (Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 170 pp., \$12.95), British critic Peter Conrad offers some trenchant observations on television — "our dirty domestic secret" — and the various versions of reality it purports to represent in commercials, talk and game shows, soap operas, and the like. The passage that follows is taken from his chapter on news.

Television's arrogation of the news is summed up in a single, unobtrusive prop. Angela Rippon, during bulletins on BBC2, often brandished in her right hand a silver-plated ball-point pen, which was there not to be used but to signify that she'd been caught in the act of writing — or inventing — the news she was merely reading. This professional self-conceit

has infected those close colleagues of the newsreaders, the weathermen. Egged on by the narcissism of their medium, they occasionally seem to believe that they've made the weather they're describing. In predicting how it will turn out tomorrow they speak, like soothsayers, as if they were determining it. An example, at station-hopping random. The BBC's lugubrious weatherman on 30 June 1980 shrugged his shoulders at us and said, "As you'll see, I've had to cover pretty much the whole of the country with rain." He was referring to the black cut-out clouds he'd scattered in a flotilla across the map, but his way of saying it betrayed his televisual conviction of his own power: it had been his decision to decree the rain.

The American weathermen aren't so glumly oracular as those retained by the BBC. On the contrary, they see it as

their responsibility to merchandise the weather. On the Channel 11 news from New York on 15 August 1980, the weatherman served up the weekend's promised temperatures to us as a commodity, enthusiastically scouting its advantages as if expecting us to buy it from him. That most perishable of items, the weather, had become another of the consumer durables which it's the function of commercial television to sell. "We've got a lovely package of weather shaping up for you," he announced. The figure of speech tells all: the studio is a factory where the weather's concocted, before it's distributed across the country to be put on display in those domestic retail outlets which are our television sets. Giftwrapping the weather, television makes it synonymous with the men who prognosticate about it.

of Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka in 1974 — the closest Japan came to a Watergate in the postwar period. A respected monthly magazine, *Bungei Shunju* (roughly translated, *Literature of the Spring and Autumn*), published a long investigative report by two free-lancers detailing allegedly corrupt practices in Tanaka's private business ventures. For a month, there was deafening silence from the daily press. Then Mr. Tanaka came to the foreign correspondents' club in response to a long-standing luncheon invitation and was questioned closely by American correspondents about the allegations.

Only after he stormed out of the meeting with a flushed and contorted face did Japanese newspapers print the story. An uproar in the Diet followed, and Tanaka eventually resigned. He was not arrested then, as Professor Kim writes, but later, as a consequence of allegations that he had taken bribes in the infamous Lockheed case. Professor Kim appears to have confused the two incidents. More important, he missed a chance to analyze the inner workings and motivations of the Japanese press that caused political reporters assigned to Tanaka to remain quiet until they could no longer ignore the story.

Besides missing important opportunities, Mr. Kim has larded his book with academic jargon and laced it with statistics, some of them more than a decade old and therefore suspect. He seems unfamiliar with newspapers, writing, for example, about "manuscripts" instead of "copy." Most of all, the book lacks flesh and blood, the smell and flavor of the newsroom and the ink-stained wretches who people it.

The book is also badly edited. Japanese and American journalists are named but not identified by organization or reputation. Harold Ross, the famous editor of *The New Yorker*, would have repeatedly penciled in the margin, "Who he?" Intriguing observations are left hanging without explanation or analysis, leaving the reader to cry, "Why?" Japanese book titles and words are often untranslated. There is no bibliography and the index is inadequate. As a final blot, there are more typos than should have gotten by the proofreaders.

The champ

To Absent Friends

by Red Smith

Atheneum. 320 pp. \$12.95

by ROY BLOUNT, JR.

"A grand little guy and a delightful companion, spinner of incomparable yarns," is the way "Cliff Mooers, the man who bet his tonsil on a horse," is described in *To Absent Friends*, a new collection of mostly eulogistic columns by the late Red Smith. That would be a description of the author as well, but it would leave something to be said.

I didn't know Red Smith, by any means, as well as I will lead my grandchildren to believe, but I did once bang

Roy Blount, Jr., has covered sports for Sports Illustrated, Inside Sports, Esquire, and The New York Times. His latest book, One Fell Soup, will appear in October.

out a column at the same time, in the same press box, on the same Super Bowl, for the same paper, but not with the same grace, as he did. Having filed in a temporal sweat, I was calmed by the sight of him and his own post-compositional mien. An imp without rancor, a dean without pretension.

"Come up with something?" I asked, in the way one might inquire of Count Basie whether he had managed to get down.

"All the veins were dry," he said with a fine soft chortle, "but I found a little artery."

Smith's touch was so light and his company so easy, it perhaps needs pointing out how vascular, in a quiet way, his stuff could be. When he died last January he had been writing sports, most notably for the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Times*, for over fifty years. He had won a Pulitzer, and he had established himself in the memory of colleagues and readers as a real gent,

Red Smith and colleagues, covering the Johansson-Patterson fight in Miami, 1961



Leonard McCormick/Life magazine

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a real sport, and — the point I would like to emphasize — a real writer.

It is true that Smith got more combatively issue-oriented in his last years, and that his targets were good ones: baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn, baseball owners in general and the Yankees' George Steinbrenner in particular, and Soviet Russia (as host of the 1980 Olympics, whose boycott Smith urged early on). But this collection preserves a more than topical side of him.

His prose — although he said of old fighter Charlie Goldman that he "weighed about as much as thirty-five cents' worth of liver" — is not very carnal. When he does write something like "he challenged McLarnin for the welterweight title and punched his baby face off," it is a rare lapse, seems callous. The turf he covered was not the locker room or the line of scrimmage so much as the places where gathered the "bums" (as he and guys like Toots Shor called each other) who loved to sit around sipping more than a few (Smith was in the Irish drinking sense a hard man) and talking about sports. One of his great gifts, as the *Times*'s Dave Anderson points out in his introduction to this collection, was his encyclopedic memory for anecdotes, which he had a distinctive way of compressing and tossing off in a couple of lines, like this:

"The tale has been told here before about Cliff as a kid holding out \$25 and a tonsil on a doctor who had agreed to snatch both of them for \$50 and putting the money on a winner at Bay Meadows."

Or like this: ". . . a kid from a wartime prison camp with a face empty of feeling who played the piano so mechanically that John would rage at him, 'Look, I'll show you how to play "Some of These Days" and mean something,' and the kid would look at him blankly and John would be ashamed of himself."

He did more than recount these yarns. He was up to something, as a writer. In this collection you can see him playing with the sentimental sports obit as a genre, to keep it enlivened: "Perhaps it is a banal thing to say that a man was just about as gracious and charming and decent a person as ever lived. The

BOOKS

obituaries never say that, so maybe it isn't the sort of line to put in a newspaper."

When the man Smith described as "perhaps my truest friend," the legendary *Trib* editor Stanley Woodward, died, Smith wrote about an impromptu wrestling match between Woodward and legendary football coach Jock Sutherland when both were in their fifties:

"Stanley removed his thick glasses, lunged blindly for a headlock and missed. A quarter-ton of beef smashed to the floor. The house trembled. Stanley was pinned. He lay gasping.

"'Smith,' he said weakly, 'help me up.' I handed him a Scotch and soda where he lay. He knew I went on newspapers because I disliked lifting things.

"I realize that's no kind of story for a time like this, but some of us must laugh, lest we cry."

But I'm afraid I am not doing justice, here, to Smith's odd straight-faced accepting tang, which is suggestive of V. S. Pritchett and John McNulty. "He was light of heart and light of foot and he would quit a job to go to the circus," he writes of a departed pal. "He helped Robert Abplanalp launch . . . a trout hatchery . . . Fish interested Abplanalp before he took up bankrolling Richard Nixon."

All kinds of people interested Smith. "A Guy Who Made Mistakes," for instance, is about a ballplayer named Jake Powell, a suicide, who once made a racist remark on the radio and then went alone at night to bars all through Harlem, apologizing and buying drinks.

Smith's tribute to a fight writer named Walter St. Denis, who "wasn't a particularly humorous man, nor one of those to whom antic adventures happen," might almost be a modernist short story. His farewell to Max Baer ends, ". . . Afterward they called him a coward, but I've always wondered."

Red left a lot of things unelaborated. Room was left for mystery and honest feeling to flow. "I have tried to level," he said in a foreword he wrote for this book, shortly before he died. Without seeming to try, he could make the house tremble. ■

While The News Media Watch The World

Who Watches The News Media?

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BRIEFINGS

Partygoing at the networks

Subliminal Politics in the Evening News, by Walter Karp, *Channels*, April/May 1982

So you think that the nightly news on the commercial networks is homogenized chowder, three bowls of common information distinguishable mainly by the different serving styles of the maître d's. Wrong — or wrong, at least, in the television news world



according to Karp. Leaving other media-watchers to chew over ratings, formats, and Dan Rather's sweater, Karp has set for himself the formidable task of determining if — and how — the evening newscasts differ from one another in political character. After a lot of close comparative viewing, a little fancy reconciliation of paradoxes, and some creative straining of categories, Karp concludes that, indeed, each of the networks is

quietly pushing its favorite political dish. And whether or not the reader (or viewer) finds the argument entirely persuasive, it offers plenty of food for thought.

For his impressionistic experiment, Karp followed the coverage of two recent and revealing developments: in domestic affairs, the recession and Reaganomics; in foreign affairs, the crisis in Poland. At first, Karp recalls, the economy stories seemed to be so various in approach as to defy generalization (a puzzle designed by the networks, Karp suspects, to disguise larger political games). But with the news treatment of events following the Polish crackdown came his epiphany. Pointing as evidence to specific examples of language, tone, and emphasis given (or withheld) in covering both stories, Karp discerns the following pattern. CBS, on the one hand clearly aiming to further the cause of American intervention in Polish affairs, and on the other hand offering grimly eloquent reports on Reagan's victims among the poor, the old, and the unemployed, functions as a not-so-subtle mouthpiece for the Democratic Party and the cold-war liberalism that has it presently in thrall; NBC, reflecting an abiding aversion to overseas involvement and a middle-class concentration on the sufferings of small-business people, small-farm owners, and laid-off factory workers, represents the old-fashioned tradition of midwestern Republicanism; ABC, favoring a more assertive foreign policy and affording the Reagan administration steady opportunities for uncritical defense of its economic policies, consistently walks the narrow path of the Republican right wing.

What all this suggests about the so-called objectivity of broadcast journalism does not seem to trouble Karp, who is excited about the idea of network news as an active political force. He was particularly taken with the devastatingly critical coverage of Reagan and his policies by NBC, which in the space of eleven days in January managed, among other things, to tell its viewers that the president "sounded more like a cheerleader than a chief executive"; to pounce on the lies and misleading anecdotes related in a presidential news conference; to refute the administration's false arguments for gutting the Freedom of Information Act; and to expose

the mindlessness, cruelty, and shortsightedness of a few of the administration's budget cuts. A salute to network boldness, however, is only part of Karp's point; on a more practical level, he interprets the performance of NBC — the voice of "upright, decent, and cautious Republicanism" — as an indication that the president is in deeper trouble with his traditional constituency than he seems yet to understand.

Karp's evidence is selective and his logic occasionally expedient, but his thesis is, for all that, hard to dismiss out of hand. Chances are that after reading his piece you won't be watching network news in quite the same way as you did before.

Informed source

World Press Encyclopedia, edited by George Thomas Kurian, Facts on File, 1982. 1,202 pp. \$120.00.

From this remarkable reference work you can learn that there are twenty-seven dailies in Mexico City and what the difference is between the libel laws of the United States and France; who owns the media in East Malaysia and when the last western correspondents were expelled from Ethiopia; what the state of the art of journalism is in present-day Greece and how a foreign correspondent gets accredited in the Soviet Union. In short, this pair of oversized volumes assembles, for the first time and in coherent, readable form, basic information about the developed, developing, and undeveloped press systems — some 180 in all — as they exist throughout the world.

Arranged in a country-by-country format, each by-lined essay is preceded by a listing of vital media statistics (literacy rate; number of newspapers, periodicals, and radio and television stations currently in operation; per capita newsprint consumption; total newspaper advertising receipts; etc.) and is followed by a fairly comprehensive bibliography. Each narrative systematically sketches the historical background and economic framework of the press system under review, together with the country's press laws, state-press relations, and attitude toward foreign media; censorship and the

education and training of journalists are discussed as well. Separate chapters provide overviews on international advertising, press councils around the world, and the politics of international information.

While acknowledging an inherent bias in favor of a free press, Kurian stresses in his introduction that the book's assessments of such factors as media ownership and censorship are grounded not in political ideology but, rather, in journalistic function — how, in other words, such aspects of a country's media affect the quality of its news. The result is a work that is itself marked by high professional quality and that is a worthy, welcome addition to the literature in the field.

Museum piece

Farewell etaoin shrdlu, by David Loeb Weiss. The Museum of Modern Art Circulating Film Library, 1980. 16 mm. color film. 29 minutes. \$400 sales; \$50 rental.

July 1, 1978, may have been a ho-hum newsday at *The New York Times* — fighting in Lebanon, a Manhattan explosion, plans for the upcoming Fourth of July — but in the paper's composing room, things were far from routine. On that summer Saturday evening, the next day's early editions of the *Times* were being printed for the last time from hot type cast from molten lead; before the night was through, the changeover to cold type set by electronic computer was final and complete. David Loeb Weiss, a member of the New York Typographical Union and a former proofreader at the *Times*, had the foresight to record that historic transition on film, and to ask Carl Schlesinger, a typesetter and an authority on the printing trades who retrained *Times* printers in the operation of the new equipment, to narrate the story. This sensitive, unsentimental document is the result.

With the clock on the wall sweeping all too quickly through the fifty-six minutes to the first edition's 9 P.M. deadline, the camera observes the sixty old reliable Linotypes on their final job, revealing in loving detail how molds of letters are cast from 530-degree

liquid lead to form a solid slug of type; how the lines are spaced and spread into columns of full-page newspaper forms on steel tablets, or "printers' stones"; how engravings, cuts, and headlines are made by hand; how page plates, or stereotypes, are placed on nine identical presses that reverse the lead image and print right-reading words on the newspaper page; how corrections for the next edition are fixed on the "stones"; and, not least, how typesetting errors are signaled to the proofreader by striking the first twelve keys of the Linotype keyboard, "etaoin shrdlu" — a convention that gives the documentary its title of fond farewell.

The process began with Gutenberg, the narrator reminds us — indeed, the machines at work, soon to be auctioned and cannibalized for parts, are of a kind that has for the past hundred years remained virtually unchanged — and on this night, when the Linotype operator discards the last lead line at the end of the last story and gives his old machine a final pat, when he turns out the lights and closes the door on the suddenly silent room, an era comes to a close. All of the knowledge acquired by the operator in a lifetime of work is now locked in a computer.

But the film is more than an appreciation

of the mechanical past; it is also a celebration of the electronic future. Briskly, the camera moves on to the next edition, being put together in lab-like, noise-free, temperature-controlled quarters, where seasoned printers (who have been retrained) orchestrate buttons and switches and magnetic tapes, magically transferring paste-ups to flexible plastic plates on high-speed presses via electronic impulses through a laser beam. If the process seems cold in more ways than one, perhaps it is because the more memorable scenes of personal connection — the page editor and layout man with heads together, coaxing the type into the form; the shop's many deaf printers speaking to one another in sign language; the pride of the operators and "makeups" in meeting the deadline one last time — have come before. Certainly, the leap in production is hot enough: 1,000 lines of type a minute, or more than seventy times the speed of the process it replaced.

Even now, though, in its state of technical obsolescence, the genius of the Linotype concept is no less astonishing than that of its automated successor. And to witness the end of one revolution and the beginning of the next is to be struck anew by the awesome reach of human inventiveness in our urge to communicate.

Gloria Cooper



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Sometimes it would be nice to bring back an old contributor to do an article, but the fact is that while the names of our writers have changed over the years, the quality of the magazine has not.

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Voice-overs

TO THE REVIEW:

In the 1981 *Writer's Market*, Gloria Cooper, managing editor of *CJR*, says "we emphasize in-depth reporting, critical essays, and good writing." These qualities were not emphasized in "Inside the Voice of America." Hiding behind a cloak of anonymity, Robin Grey attacks, with considerable contempt, the integrity of the foreign service officers assigned here and ridicules those VOA employees who have come from other lands.

The writer doesn't seem to understand either the way VOA is run or the concept behind its charter. Somehow, the impression left is that, along with providing objective news and conveying information on American society and institutions, it is subversive for the VOA to present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively. The word "censorship" is bandied about with casual unconcern for the effect such a word has, not only on our professional journalists, but on every person who works at the Voice. Nowhere in the article can be found on-the-record statements by Charles Z. Wick, director of VOA's parent organization, the International Communication Agency, to the effect that there is no censorship of the news and there will not be.

We are always open to criticism from within and without. We welcome it. We could not exist without it. We do, however, expect it to come from those who are informed and forthright.

PHYLLIS KAMINSKY
Director
Office of Public Liaison
International Communication Agency
Washington, D.C.

TO THE REVIEW:

If the pseudonymous Robin Grey's article is a sample of the kind of reporting he would recommend to the Voice of America we would have to scrap the VOA charter, which requires that its news be *objective, comprehensive, and accurate*. Grey's sanctimonious bit of special pleading fails on all counts. Readers who would like to supplement this tendentious presentation can do so

by reading Tom Bethell's article in the May *Harper's* and Richard Brookhiser's account in the April 30 *National Review*.

Since these articles are readily available, I will confine my comments to a few of Grey's most egregious misrepresentations.

The suggestion is made throughout the piece that the primary struggle at VOA is between the "news professionals," concerned with truth, high journalistic standards, and credibility, on the one hand; and the agency's politically appointed management, in league with foreign service officers and bent on twisting the truth to serve the interests of a revived Cold War. The hundreds of highly educated and well-informed professionals who work in the Voice's thirty-nine language services are dismissed with a condescension bordering on contempt.

This simplistic reductionism to a bipolar structure is simply false. In the first place, the foreign service officers, by and large, are incorrigible detestants who get goose bumps at the very thought of the Cold War or tough rhetoric of any kind in dealing with the failures and barbarities of the Soviet Empire. Mr. Wick strove to overrule them, but the man he appointed as director, James Conkling, was both inept and paralyzed by fear of controversy. In the end he alienated everybody and accomplished little.

The professionals who work in the language divisions are the greatest untapped resource of the VOA — and by far the largest "faction." A large number of them, contrary to Grey's assertion, are highly qualified journalists, scholars, and professional broadcasters. Not only are they well-educated, widely travelled, and multilingual, they have a deep personal understanding of the real situation in Portugal, Estonia, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Poland, and the other countries to which VOA broadcasts. In contrast, most of the American-born "journalistic professionals" in the newsroom are less sensitive to the needs, interests, experiences, and ap- perceptive backgrounds of the Voice's diverse foreign audiences.

Grey does sometimes hit the mark: "... Nicolaides was only asking VOA to recall its World War II heritage, but now facing a different enemy." It is clear that Grey does not

think that we face a real enemy today and that the VOA should be our first line of defense in the ideological struggle. In this he fully represents the dominant mind-set of the American journalistic establishment and its bureaucratic carbon copies at the VOA. He does not represent the thinking of the administration the people elected to run the VOA, or the people whose tax dollars pay for it.

PHILIP NICOLAIDES
Springfield, Va.

TO THE REVIEW:

On page 29 of your story about the Voice of America, you picture the Master Control area. The clocks on the wall appear to read, from left to right, 10:21, 12:21, 5:21, 3:21, 6:21, and 9:51. What time zone is the last?

JOHN L. FOX
Indianapolis, Ind.

The editors reply: *The offbeat clock represents the time in Calcutta, which falls on a time-zone change. India elected to have a half-hour, rather than a full hour, difference between itself and its neighbors.*

Cover letter

TO THE REVIEW:

I have learned to live with the liberal bias of most of the articles in the *Review*, but I wish to protest the especially offensive cover on the May/June issue. To depict Ronald Reagan, one of the kindest and most compassionate men ever to occupy the White House, in such a fashion is a disgrace.

B. Y. WICKSTROM
Editor
The Zephyrhills News
Zephyrhills, Fla.

Newsroom spouses

TO THE REVIEW:

Bernice Buresh's article "Til Newsrooms Do Us Part" (*CJR*, May/June) was excellent, but she missed two points.

First, management's predictions of the effects of employees' marriages may be self-

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fulfilling. If Bill Ryberg wanted to work day hours after his marriage, I would suspect it was because he didn't feel any great urge to continue making sacrifices for an employer who had forced his wife out of her job and reduced his family income by \$3,800 a year. Treat employees as if you expect them to be selfish, grubbing automatons, and they will often respond in kind.

Second, one-newspaper towns are not the only hazard a newsroom couple faces. While interviewing for a job at a thriving daily in a fiercely competitive two-paper town, I asked about my wife's prospects for finding work and was told that both of the papers have nepotism rules. Well, what if I worked on one paper and my wife on the other? "Oh, no. That's impossible," the editor replied. "The competitive situation here is so tight we couldn't stand for that."

After three years of working fifteen feet away from my girl friend/fiancée/wife, I can attest — as can our editors — that our work has been enhanced by our situation. Nepotism rules are simply another example of work practices instituted for the convenience of management, not because of any basis in reality.

NAME WITHHELD

TO THE REVIEW:

Reading "Til Newsrooms Do Us Part," I was reminded once again that your magazine barely recognizes that broadcast journalism exists. With more and more newspapers dying, and more and more journalists making their living in radio, TV, and cable, this is certainly a shortsighted attitude. To publish an article about husband/wife problems in the newsroom — and totally ignore the networks and the major big-city stations — is nothing short of ridiculous.

I would hope to see a follow-up article shortly, and something more like a 50-50 split in broadcast/print journalism coverage.

STEPHANIE SHELTON
Correspondent
CBS News
New York, N.Y.

Ritual observance

TO THE REVIEW:

My eyebrows headed for my hairline when I saw the reference to sociologist Gaye Tuchman's notion of objectivity as "strategic ritual" in the relentlessly anti-intellectual *CJR* comment on U.S. press coverage of El Salvador ("A Political Press?" May/June). But then, alas, I realized

CJR hadn't actually read Tuchman's famous article, published in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1972, but was just bandying about her fine phrase.

Tuchman used the phrase to describe conventional journalists' key defense mechanism: their way of hiding from critics who insist that "facts" are the practical accomplishments of actors with specific political goals, not objects like stones that reporters can kick around on their beats. The phrase has nothing to do with how the press maintains a role of nonparticipant observer, a role Tuchman's work reveals as a form of self-deception. Tuchman and her fellow ethnomethodologists have been trying to get reporters to recognize that facts are *artifacts* — products of human labor and intention — and that reporting, like all other text-producing activity, is constrained by history, ideology, bureaucratic routines, small-group dynamics, market conditions, etc. "Objectivity" isn't a useful term for describing it, but only for intentionally *not* describing it.

MICHAEL STERN
Palo Alto, Calif.

The editors reply: *Anti-intellectual, perhaps; relentless, no. Mr. Stern has a point; the use of "strategic ritual" in the editorial unjustifiably stretched Tuchman's portrayal of objectivity as a "bulwark" between journalists and critics. On the other hand, Tuchman is not so relentlessly invidious as Stern's letter would suggest. Far from depicting "self-deception," she concedes at the start: "Newspapermen must be able to invoke some concept of objectivity in order to process facts about social reality."*

Neolabel land

TO THE REVIEW:

Back in the old days, before the invention of neolibs, there was a political saw, "I don't care what you say about me as long as you get my name right."* Fortunately, those of us who are part of the movement reject this advice as old-fashioned.

Your piece on the "Neoliberals" by C. T. Hanson (Capital Letter, *CJR*, May/June) raises a good point. The only thing all the members of this ill-defined group agree upon is our distaste for the name. As one who has never claimed to be a liberal, I find this a problem.

Let me suggest, however, that there is a deeper problem. The ideas we are discussing cannot win public attention as long as we work alone to deal with them. I found that out last year during the tax-cut debate when I suggested that there be no personal tax cut

and attempted to get a public debate going via the press. No one was interested. They just wanted to know how many co-sponsors I had. On the other hand, when we band together to seek solutions jointly we find we are the victims of facile descriptions that suffer from the very fault your analyst describes so well.

There is something happening. The press has yet to properly describe it. But that's probably little more than a reflection of the fact that our current effort involves more process than product.

Keep up the good work. The ancient Chinese were concerned with the rectification of names. But none of us has solved the problem since. We'll keep trying.

RICHARD A. GEPhARDT
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

* Editor's note: *The Review, to its shame, got Gephardt's first name wrong, calling him Philip instead of Richard.*

TO THE REVIEW:

It is flattering and amusing to be attacked in the pages of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, and an unusual experience for me. But unfortunately, C. T. Hanson, in "Neolabeling," committed so many errors of fact and process that it calls his conclusions into question.

First, the errors of fact. Hanson mentions "Neolib representative Philip Gephardt," a reference, I presume, to Representative Richard A. Gephardt, whom I quote extensively in my *Esquire* piece, "The Neoliberal Club," which your writer finds so offensive. Further, Hanson presumes that the only reason Senator Chris Dodd is not listed in the story is because he is "unglamorous." Unfortunately, Dodd is listed in my story, on page 42, column 1, last graph. And Hanson uses the ingenious device of a "survey" of the named legislators' press secretaries to sleuth out the startling discovery that "not one neoliberal on *Esquire's* list supported all these supposed articles of faith" in the "Neoliberal Agenda" sidebar. I'm sorry C. T. went to the trouble of conducting a poll; the first sentence of that sidebar reads, "Although neoliberals differ in their support for each plank of this platform. . . ."

The errors of process are, in a way, worse, because they make *CJR* look a tad simple-minded. The survey is a funny device, and interviewing press secretaries may be fine as a starting point, but it is a worthless method of arriving at political truths. Hanson confuses an adjectival description (I wrote that neolibs are "handsome Democratic up-

starts") with a requirement (C.T. wrote, "Esquire . . . stipulates that neolibs must be good-looking").

And this leads to the worst fault of all. Hanson has a problem with *Esquire* — "that arbiter of male vogue," he writes contemplatively — but then shifts that venomous attitude towards me, the writer. Why wasn't Carl Levin included on the list, Hanson wants to know? It's because he is "diseveled, balding, plump," is his answer. Well, no — it's because in a year of research and four months of interviewing, Levin's name did not come up once. Looks, Hanson states, are why Gary Hart, Tim Wirth, and Bill Bradley made *Esquire's* cover. A valid conclusion this, and a remarkable insight into how art directors think. But a photogenic nature, C.T. goes on to claim, is "why all the seven other neolib legislators" were mentioned in the piece. No — that was my decision, and to imply that I used physical appearance as a criterion in writing the story is not only silly, but is also a serious slap at my ethics. To make the leap from an ad magazinem to an ad hominem attack is beneath CJR.

RANDALL ROTHENBERG
Princeton, N.J.

C. T. Hanson replies: *It's strange to read complaints about "errors of process" from a writer who has just provided the public with a label that bestows an aura of concrete reality upon a "phenomenon" whose existence is open to serious question. Since the so-called neoliberal legislators do not agree on a program, and since their common articles of faith are so general that non-neoliberals from Barry Goldwater to Alan Cranston could agree with them, it is reasonable to ask what criteria Rothenberg has applied for determining membership in the neoliberal club. In isolating these criteria, it is perfectly fair to look at the entire package — cover art as well as prose — especially considering that in this case the two work together to create an image of youthful sexiness.*

Carl Levin's name certainly came up in my research. Several congressional aides asked why, other than on the basis of looks, he and the able but balding Joe Biden — two hard-working, young, Democratic military reformers — were excluded from the club. Senator Chris Dodd is mentioned in passing in the article (Inquiry magazine is quoted as saying Dodd at times has been heard to make neoliberal noises), but his name seems to have been added to Rothenberg's list as an afterthought.

In any event, Rothenberg does describe the neolibs as "handsome Democratic up-

starts." The phrase is his, not the Esquire art director's, and this would seem to dispose of the charge that my critique was in some way ad hominem. If the politicians in question were women ("gorgeous Democratic upstarts") the cry of sexism would be heard in the land. Physical characteristics do not a political movement make.

Capital Letter: postscripts

TO THE REVIEW:

As an alternative newspaper, the Washington *City Paper* is used to being slighted by the dailies. But we expect more from CJR.

Your May/June Capital Letter praises our worthy competitor, *The Washington Tribune*, but fails to mention the *Trib's* worthy competitor — namely, the *City Paper*. In fact, both are well-written alternatives to *The Washington Post*, and both have broken stories the *Post* has ignored.

One such story, incidentally, was mentioned in your May/June Darts and Laurels column. The story behind Clay Blair's negative review of Joseph C. Goulden's *Korea: The Untold Story of the War in The Washington Post's Book World* was first published in the March 12 *City Paper*. That was six days before the Philadelphia *Daily News*'s Greg Walter published his story on what you correctly term "the whole sorry episode."

MICHAEL MARIOTTE
Managing editor
City Paper
Washington, D.C.

TO THE REVIEW:

In his March/April Capital Letter, C. T. Hanson chides the press for its neglect of the Alaska natural-gas pipeline bail-out bill. We suspect that Hanson failed to look beyond a few big-city dailies in assessing coverage of this story.

Robert Walters, Washington correspondent for Newspaper Enterprise Association, devoted two columns to this important issue on November 10 and 11. That was just short of a month before the House vote on the bill. Moreover, Walters addressed the consumer implications of the bill that Hanson complains were overlooked by most of the news media. For example, Walters wrote that the pipeline-funding plan "would force consumers of natural gas throughout the country to finance the most expensive non-government construction project ever conceived in the nation's history."

This is one national story that may have

been covered better in Denver, Sioux City, and Savannah than in Washington and New York.

BARBARA McDOWELL
Managing editor
Newspaper Enterprise Association
New York, N.Y.

Dow darts laurel

TO THE REVIEW:

Perhaps I was duped by the sanctity of your Dart and Laurel selections. But I always granted that a laurel must be a fleeting taste of the Pulitzer, a dart an indelible peer embarrassment. Thus, I was dismayed to read in the May/June issue of CJR that a laurel was awarded to Keith Schneider and *Inquiry* magazine.

The misguided laurel was bestowed for "a disturbing report on the accumulating evidence against the herbicide Tordon, [including] a striking increase in malignancies and other health problems among the residents of Cherokee County, North Carolina. . . ." Apparently CJR accepted the *Inquiry* story as gospel. But had facts been verified, the real-world health experience in Cherokee County documents that cancer is not rampant in Cherokee County. Overall death rates in the county have been steadily declining since 1972 when compared to national averages. More important, a 30 percent decline in Cherokee County cancer deaths in 1981 compared to the previous year based on national averages contradicts the alarmists who speak of a cancer epidemic.

ROBERT W. CHARLTON
Public relations manager
Agricultural Products Department
Dow Chemical U.S.A.
Midland, Mich.

Keith Schneider replies: *Dow's claim that cancer deaths in Cherokee County fell by 30 percent has been verified only by Dow's own epidemiologists. If Dow's researchers were to go to Cherokee County to interview cancer victims and test water and soil samples for the presence of Tordon, perhaps they would stop playing these dangerous statistical games.*

Kay, Kay, Kay and Co.

TO THE REVIEW:

The dart thrown in the direction of *The Arlington Journal* in your May/June issue was aimed rather carelessly. The article was not a puff piece about Mary Kay Cosmetics; it was, rather, a life-style piece about three

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women in our area who sell the product (Mary Kay) and work for the company (Mary Kay), and also about their feelings regarding its founder (Mary Kay).

Your statement that Mary Kay Cosmetics was mentioned fifty-nine times is incorrect. As noted above, "Mary Kay" refers to the founder and the company, as well as its product. The article's use of the name "Mary Kay" reflects its multiple usage by Mary Kay representatives.

JOHN GREENWALD
Editorial Director
The Arlington Journal
Springfield, Va.

Generation gaps

TO THE REVIEW:

Readers of "Generation Gap in San Jose" (CJR, March/April) may be interested to know that while the San Jose Newspaper Guild was charging Knight-Ridder executives with possible age discrimination against veteran employees, a group of Guild editorial employees at the Buffalo *Courier-Express*, faced with similar circumstances, was filing such a charge with state and federal agencies. (The two agencies are the state's Division of Human Rights, which has begun an investigation, and the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.) As far as we know, it's the first such action taken against a newspaper.

Talk of age discrimination at the *Courier-Express* began about a year after the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company bought the family-owned newspaper in the summer of 1979. Starting in the summer of 1980, the popular Sunday editor of the newspaper took early retirement, a twenty-seven-year-old woman was named features editor, a twenty-nine-year-old woman was named metropolitan editor, and a twenty-nine-year-old man was appointed managing editor.

With the arrival of thirty-two-year-old executive editor Joel Kramer in January 1981, new people, all in their twenties or thirties, were named to head the Sports, Financial, Editorial, and Sunday departments, and the Sunday magazine. Four new management positions were created and filled by persons in the same age group. Columnist Phil Ranallo, who had gained many awards and fans during the twenty-five years he had written about sports, was transferred to the copy desk and his place in the paper taken over by a twenty-seven-year-old man.

The guild committee that looked into possible age discrimination against editorial employees at the *Courier-Express* summed

up: "Gradually, in a period of little more than a year, it has become obvious to most veteran members at the *Courier-Express* that wide experience or longevity are no longer desirable qualities to possess if one is ambitious. It is a terrible thing for a veteran employee who has patiently waited his turn for a crack at an editorship to suddenly realize his turn will never come because he is regarded as too old."

JOSEPH P. RITZ
Chairman
Guild Over 40 Committee
The Courier-Express
Buffalo, N.Y.

IRS/nonprofit press

In "When Auditors Turn Editors" (CJR, November/December 1981), Angus Mackenzie reported on an IRS audit of *Mother Jones*'s parent foundation, the Foundation for National Progress, and a suit brought against the IRS by Thomas F. Field, publisher of *Tax Notes* and founder of Taxation With Representation of Washington. There have been significant developments in both cases.

On March 26, the U.S. Appeals Court in Washington, D.C., reversed an earlier decision, handed down by a panel of three judges, that had upheld an IRS denial of tax-exempt status for Taxation With Representation of Washington. This time around, with ten judges hearing the case, the court ruled that Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code constitutes a double standard, in violation of the Constitution's equal protection guarantees, inasmuch as it permits veterans' organizations to lobby without restriction while restraining other tax-exempt charities and educational organizations from doing so. Circuit Judge Abner Mikva, writing for the majority, concluded that Congress should either take away the right of organized veterans to lobby with tax-deductible money or extend that right to all tax-exempt groups. The IRS has appealed to the Supreme Court. Field expects the Court to hear the case in late 1982.

The *Mother Jones* case, meanwhile, has taken a couple of strange turns. In his article, Mackenzie reported that the IRS had tentatively decided to revoke the tax-exempt status of the Foundation for National Progress, primarily because field auditors "could not see how *Mother Jones* was distinguishable from a commercial publication."

Thomas Silk, the foundation's tax lawyer, recently told Mackenzie that, shortly after the *Review* article appeared last fall, IRS agent Lee Junio called to say that the IRS

would not revoke the foundation's exemption. This welcome news was followed, on April 15 of this year, by the receipt of an IRS bill for three quarters of a million dollars — a sum roughly equivalent to the amount of money the magazine lost in the audited years 1978, 1979, and 1980. What had happened?

The IRS is prohibited by statute from commenting on individual tax cases; lawyer Silk, for his part, offers this explanation: "The briefs and exhibits we supplied to the IRS last year convinced them that a substantial part of the foundation's activities are charitable and educational, but they continued to regard the magazine itself as primarily a commercial operation — this despite the fact that *Mother Jones* lost money every year and would not have been published except as an effort to reach a broader section of the public with the foundation's message. Meanwhile, even if *Mother Jones* were taxable as a commercial activity, it would have no tax to pay because it lost money. What the IRS has done is to allocate as income all the funds received from subscriptions and advertising revenue, but they have not allowed us the deductions they would ordinarily allow a commercial publishing venture."

Silk adds that he is "reluctant to believe that the IRS action represents harassment" and that "it would seem to be the result of confusion." He expects that this confusion will be resolved at a higher administrative level of the IRS.

Slippery line

Due to a printer's error, an attribution line was dropped from the bottom of "the Lower case" page in the May/June issue. Credit (or blame) for the item — WE RIDE THE IRT DEATH LINE WIN FREE TOKENS FOR THE YEAR — belongs to the *New York Post*.

Acknowledgment

Editor's note: *Research for "Uptight on Gay News"* by Ransdell Pierson (CJR, March/April) was financed in part by the Albert Kihn Memorial Fund, which is administered by the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

Deadline

The editors welcome and encourage letters from readers. To be considered for publication in the September/October issue, letters to the *Review* should be received by July 20. Letters should be double-spaced and are subject to editing for clarity and space.

Women on the Bench

A woman named Esther Morris, a non-lawyer, became the first of her sex to join the judiciary in this country when the governor of the Territory of Wyoming appointed her a part-time justice of the peace in a place called South Pass Mining Camp. The year was 1870.

Fully half a century elapsed before a woman was elected, rather than appointed, to a judicial position other than justice of the peace. Up until the last decade, only a handful of women had ever served as judges.

No longer are women a token presence on the bench. They are now being elected or appointed to judgeships in increasing numbers. Albeit in a minority that's still disappointingly small, they are a significant and growing force in both the state and federal judiciaries. The most prominent, of course, is Sandra Day O'Connor, who joined the U.S. Supreme Court in 1981.

More and more women will move into judgeships in the years ahead as their ranks in the law expand. In 1910 only 1% of all the lawyers in this country were women. Some 60 years later, the proportion was still below 3%. But by 1980 about 13% — nearly 59,000 — of the lawyers in the U.S. were women. If current trends continue, one-third of our lawyers will be women by the year 2000. An ever-larger pool is being formed to draw on for female judges.

What kind of women don judicial robes? *Judicature*, the journal of the American Judicature Society, recently published a profile based on returns from questionnaires distributed to all 549 female lawyers who were sitting as state court judges in late 1980.

The typical woman jurist at the time was 48 years old, white, a Democrat of moder-

ate to liberal bent, who had served on the bench for six years and had been a lawyer for 13. After attending a private law school, she practiced with a small law firm. Most likely she first became a judge by filling an unexpired term through a gubernatorial appointment on recommendation of a nominating commission. She went on to win additional tenure by popular election.

Debate in some legal and affirmative action circles revolves around the more effective means of selection — appointment or election — for placing more women on the bench. Many organizations representing women's interests prefer electoral over appointive selection. Yet most women judges themselves believe an appointive system not only results in more women judges, but also produces a higher-quality judiciary.

The last decade has brought marked progress in women's presence on the bench. In 1971 fewer than 200 women lawyers were judges in state courts. By 1980 the number had nearly tripled. That's in addition to the numerous women non-lawyers sitting as limited-jurisdiction judges.

Until the late '70s, only eight women had served as federal district or appeals judges in the nation's entire history. President Carter alone appointed 41. President Reagan then named the first woman to the Supreme Court.

It took generations of effort to break down male bastions in the courtroom. Finally, women are achieving rightful prominence and participation in America's judicature. They are adding dimension and texture to deliberations and decisions. Their role, their contributions, and their influence can be expected to grow in the years to come.



The Lower case

British left waffles on Falklands

The Guardian 4/28/82

Blacks Counted Better In 1980

Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star 4/5/82

BUCKINGHAM PALACE said 22-year old Prince Andrew, son of Queen Elizabeth and a Navy helicopter pilot, would sail with the Invincible.

The Sunday Herald
(Arlington Heights, Ill.) 4/4/82

Internal Memos on Tampon Introduced

The Washington Post 4/8/82

Too Early To Tell Whether Anti-Cancer Laws Working

The Tampa Tribune-Times 5/2/82

Alaska salmon recall expanding

Roanoke Times & World-News 4/1/82

The formal transfer of judicial and law enforcement powers means the U.S. special police force in the Canal Zone will be disbanded and Panamanian police and courts will now arrest and try all U.S. and Panamanian residents of the zone.

San Francisco Chronicle 4/2/82

Idaho group organizes to help service widows

The Idaho Statesman 3/30/82



Richard Nixon

Rare Oysters To Reemerge

The Palm Beach (Fla.) Post Times 4/28/82

Rita Adams, Ronald Brun will marry on Oct. 23

The Times (Kettering, Ohio) 3/31/82

Lynn Samuelson, Ronald Brun will marry on Oct. 23

The Times (Kettering, Ohio) 3/31/82

Fuel for city buses passes through two middlemen

Detroit Free Press 5/15/82

'Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Democrat,' a rock musical, heads for New York, Broadway

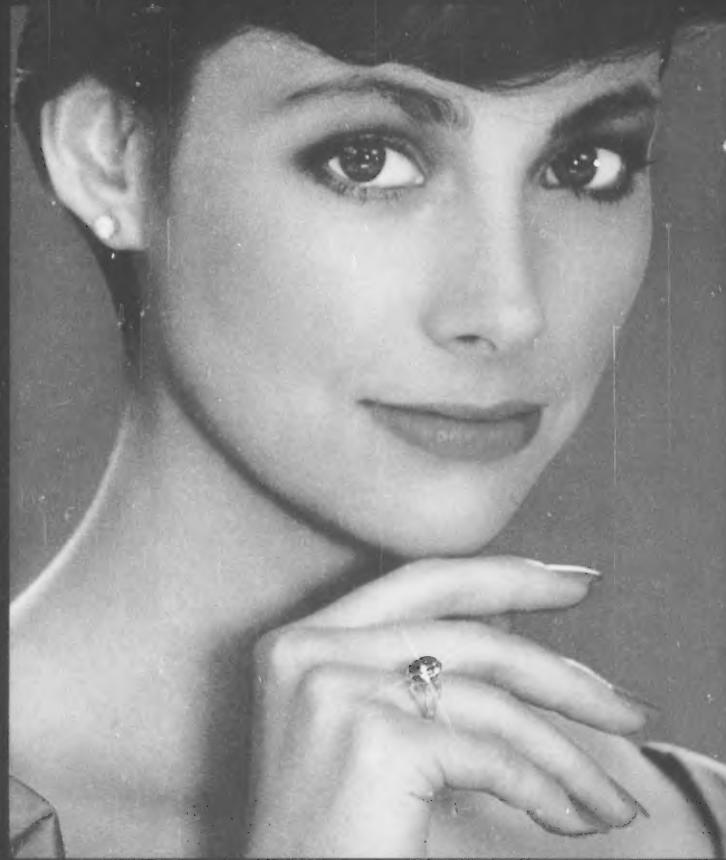
The Lawrence (Kans.) Journal-World 1/4/81

Here's How You Can Lick Doberman's Leg Sores

Reading (Pa.) Eagle 5/23/82

CJR asks readers who contribute items to this department to send only original clippings suitable for reproduction; please include the name and date of publication, as well as your name and address.

A carat or more.
A little extra weight she won't mind putting on.



The 1.57 carat diamond ring shown below is enlarged for detail.



An extraordinary diamond
of a carat or more.

Every diamond is rare.
But a diamond of a carat or more
is only one in a million.
And, like love, becomes more
precious with time.

A miracle among miracles.
Born from the earth. Reborn on a
woman.

The extraordinary diamond
solitaire. When a man's achievement
becomes a woman's good fortune.

A diamond is forever. De Beers

